

The Image of Edessa

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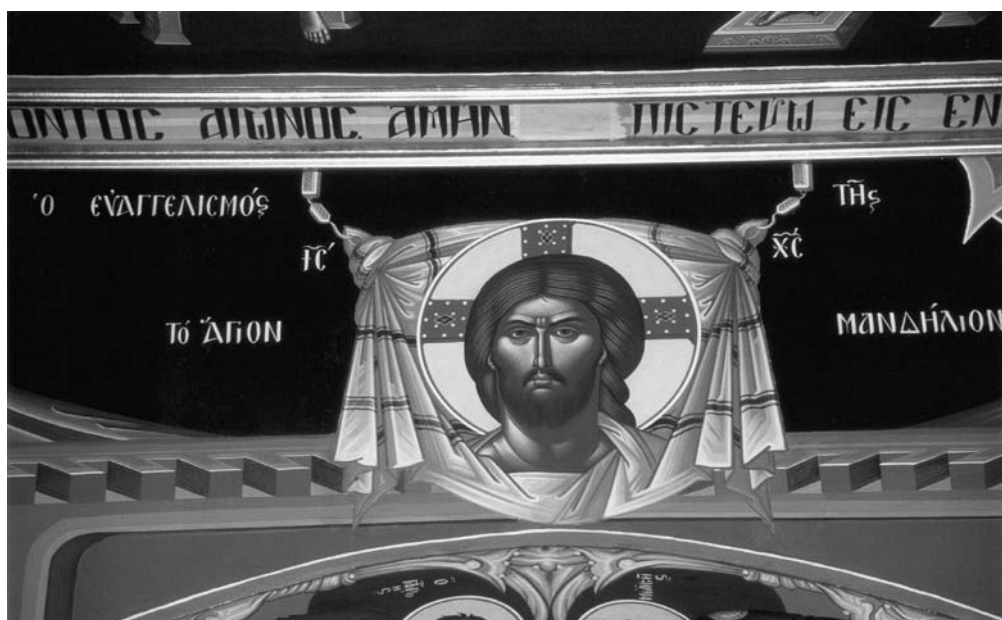
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The Mandylion in the new refectory at the monastery of Koutloumousiou, Mount Athos. Photograph by the author. With kind permission of the abbot of the monastery of Koutloumousiou.

The Image of Edessa

By
Mark Guscin



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The Mandylyon at the monastery of Docheiariou, Mount Athos. With kind permission of the author.

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This book is dedicated to Francisco Vázquez, Ambassador of Spain to the Holy See, for many years of friendship, and to the monks of the monasteries of Iveron, Hosiou Gregoriou, Koutloumousiou and the Protaton, for their kindness and trust.

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INTRODUCTION

The Image of Edessa was an image of Christ that, according to tradition, was of miraculous origin. According to the legend, Abgar, the king of Edessa and contemporary of Jesus of Nazareth, suffered from a skin disease and thanks to one of his messengers who was passing through Jerusalem, found out that there was a miracle worker and healer in the city. Abgar decided to write a letter to Christ and invite him to come and live in Edessa (the setting was just a few days before the crucifixion, and Abgar knew that the Jews were planning to kill Jesus). The messenger (Ananias or Hanan) returned to Jerusalem. Most accounts relate that Ananias, following Abgar's orders, tried to sketch Christ's face to take back to Edessa, but was unable to as Jesus kept looking this way and that. Eventually Jesus sent one of the disciples to call Ananias over, and before the messenger could hand over the letter from Abgar, Jesus told him of its contents. Jesus then wrote a reply to Abgar explaining that it was impossible for him to go to Edessa as he had a mission to fulfil. When he had ascended into heaven, however, he would send one of his disciples to cure Abgar and lead him into all truth.

Before Ananias could leave, Jesus fulfilled the second part of Abgar's request. Asking for a cloth, he wiped his face with it and left a miraculous imprint of his features on it. At first, the letters (from Abgar to Jesus and the reply) were the central part of the story; copies were made, and eventually used as a kind of talisman to ward off evil. The text developed over time – perhaps the most significant addition was the promise that the city of Edessa would be invincible to enemy attacks. Later versions contain detailed instructions of when to carry and read the letter in order to obtain personal safety.

Meanwhile, Ananias took the cloth with Christ's image back to Edessa. Abgar touched it to his whole body and was cured from his skin disease, except for a small spot that was left on his forehead. He had the cloth with the image on it placed in a niche above the city gate, in the place of a pagan idol. Abgar died, as in turn did his son. When his grandson became king he reverted to paganism; wishing to destroy the Image of Edessa, he placed a pagan image back in the niche.

The bishop was made aware of the king's intentions and bricked the Image up into the niche, together with a lighted lamp, and covered it with a tile and bricks just like the rest of the wall. The hiding place was so successful that the Image fell out of knowledge and memory, until the Persians under King Khusro (Chosroes) attacked Edessa in the sixth century. The attackers were tunnelling their way under the city walls when the city's bishop had a dream in which a woman told him about the Image and where to find it. Following her instructions, he took the Image to where the Persians were lighting a fire, and the flames were blown back onto the invaders, defeating them.

The Image was kept in Edessa even when the city was lost to the Byzantine Empire (and was thus conveniently far removed from the iconoclastic crisis). Towards the middle of the tenth century it was finally taken to Constantinople. After a ceremonious arrival, it was kept in the Boucoleon and, apart from making an appearance in some pilgrims' lists of relics they had seen, is hardly mentioned again. After the sack of the capital during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Image of Edessa is never heard of again.

The Image's history has formed the subject matter of various articles and chapters in books with a more general scope, but despite Steven Runciman's comment to the effect that the Image's 'admirable activities' entitle it now to be given some day the honour of a full-length biography,¹ such a study has not been forthcoming until now.

This present book is divided into three main parts: critical editions of the historical texts about the Image of Edessa, translations of these texts into English, and finally a history of the Image based on these texts and on previous published works related to the subject.

As far as the texts are concerned, previous editions of both the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*² and the Synaxarion³ are in existence, although neither is readily available outside the library. Neither of these editions includes the manuscripts from Mount Athos. For ease of reference I have maintained the manuscript sigla from the printed editions

¹ Steven Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931), 252.

² Ernst Von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig 1899), 39–85 in second appendix.

³ *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis Synaxariis selectis*. Opera et studio Hippolyti Delehaye (Brussels 1902, reprinted 1985), 893–904.

in each case, while for the Athos and other manuscripts not previously collated I have used a more obvious reference system (e.g. ML1 is Megistes Lavras 429, ML2 is Megistes Lavras 644 etc). A translation of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* was published in 1978.⁴ Von Dobsch tz used two manuscripts from Mount Athos (Dionisiou 54 and Protaton 36), although the readings he provides from these two witnesses are incomplete and in places inaccurate. I have collated many other manuscripts from Athos and also other codices von Dobsch tz either did not know of or chose to ignore (Escorial gr. II.11, Messina S. Salv. 49, Milan Ambros. C 186 inf, Milan Ambros. D 52 sup, Milan Ambros. D 107 sup, Patmos 252 and Patmos 258), and have corrected his incomprehensibly incomplete readings from the codex he called I (Florence BML gr. IX.33). Two of the manuscripts unknown to von Dobsch tz's edition are quite unique in their readings Pantokrator 99 is a heavily truncated version, while Milan D52 sup. contains unique readings concerning the arrival of the Image in Constantinople in the tenth century.

Von Dobsch tz identified a text included at the end of two versions of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, calling it the Liturgical Tractate. Rather than treating it as a separate text as von Dobsch tz did, I have embedded it within the text of the Official History, just before the last chapter, exactly where it is found in all the witnesses excepting Milan D52, where it is included as a separate text after the *Narratio*. For the tractate I have included the testimony of three manuscripts from Mount Athos, unknown to von Dobsch tz, and also that of Milan D52. The chapter divisions in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* are the ones used by Migne, with the addition of the Liturgical Tractate, while I have maintained von Dobsch tz's divisions in the Synaxarion (Delehaye's text has no divisions or chapters). I have included in the critical edition of the Synaxarion the text of the twelfth-century Byzantine historian Georgius Cedrenus,⁵ which is in its major part word for word identical to the Synaxarion itself, although it has undergone some modifications, probably by Cedrenus himself. The Synaxarion itself is an abbreviated version of the *Narratio*, and one Athos manuscript (Iveron 797) contains a much abbreviated version of the Synaxarion, which is previously

⁴ The translation was supervised by Bernard Slater from Bradford Grammar School and published as an appendix in Ian Wilson, *The Turin Shroud* (London 1978), 272–290.

⁵ Edited by I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn 1838–1839), 308–315.

unedited (to my knowledge). The divisions and group numbers in the various different Menaion texts are my own.

There are versions of the Abgar correspondence in some Athos manuscripts that have never been published before (again, to my knowledge), and Menaion texts from manuscripts that are not even included in Lampros' monumental catalogue of manuscripts on Athos, and hence whose existence is not recorded anywhere but here.⁶

A little known version of the Abgar legend is also included under the name of the sermon of Gregory Referendarius (i.e. overseer of relationships between the patriarch and the emperor). Preserved in just one known manuscript in the Vatican library (Gr 511), the text must have been written shortly after the arrival of the Image of Edessa in Constantinople in 944. The text was published with a translation into French by Andr  -Marie Dubarle.⁷

I hope to have met Steven Runciman's wish for the Image of Edessa to have its own complete biography and history with the present book.

⁶ The two manuscripts are Hosiou Gregoriou 228 (saec. XII) and Iveron 1684 (saec. XVIII).

⁷ Andr  -Marie Dubarle, 'L'Hommage de Gr  goire le R  f  rendaire pour la R  ception de l'Image d'  dessa', *Revue des   tudes Byzantines* 55 (1997), 5–51.

PART ONE

THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The Narratio de imagine Edessena
attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus

Codices

V	Vind. Hist. Gr 45 saec. XI f. 194a 208a
X	Paris B. N. gr. 1474 saec. XI f. 212 227
A	Paris B. N. gr. 1475 saec. XI f. 122 136
B	Vat. gr. 2043 saec. XI/XII f. 200a 220b
C	Mosc. s. Syn. 9. saec. XI f. 192 209
D	Vat. gr. 822. saec XII f. 208 225b
E	Paris gr. 1548. saec. XII f. 134 146
F	Rom. Vallic. B 14 f. 235b 245a
G	Ottob. Vat. gr. 87. saec. XIII/XIV f. 147 152
H	Neap. II C 25. saec. XIV pp. 100 107
I	Florence BML gr. IX.33 saec. XIV f. 384a 397b
K	Paris Coisl. gr. 307. saec. XVI 1552 f. 525 535
Q	Mosc. s. Syn. 160. saec. XI f. 171 188
R	Rom. Chis. R VII 50. saec. XI f. 162 176
S	Taur. B II 24. saec. XI f. 154 166
T	Taur. B IV 8. saec. XI f. 115 129
U	Paris B. N. gr. 1527 saec. XII f. 165 179
W	Paris B. N. gr. 1528 saec. XII f. 182 197
Y	Paris B. N. gr. 1176 saec. XII f. 252 262
Pr	Athos Protaton 36 saec. XII f. 222a 238a
Di1	Athos Dionysiou 54 saec. XII f. 197a 214a
Di2	Athos Dionysiou 145 saec. XVI f. 524a 538a
ML1	Athos Megistes Lavras 429 saec. XI f. 240a 255a
ML2	Athos Megistes Lavras 644 saec. XII f. 287a 308a
ML3	Athos Megistes Lavras 1966 saec. XVII (1668) f. 39b 55a
Iv	Athos Iveron 595 saec. XVI f. sine numeris
Pa	Athos Pantokratoros 99 saec. XVI f. 193a 223b
Va	Athos Vatopedi 635 saec. XV f. 455 476
Es	El Escorial y-II-1 gr. 319 saec. XIII f. 123a 134b
Me	Messina BU S. Salv. gr. 49 (70) saec. XII f. 225a 244b
Mi1	Milan B. Ambros. gr. C 186 inf. saec. XI f. 143b 158a
Mi2	Milan B. Ambros. gr. D52 sup. saec. XI f. 81b 103b
Mi3	Milan B. Ambros. gr. D 107 sup. saec. XIV f. 208b 223b
P1	Patmos gr. 258 saec. XI f. 108b 123b
P2	Patmos gr. 252 saec. XII f. 201b 214b

El Escorial Th-III-17 gr. 456 contained the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* but is now lost.

Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων διήγησις ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἀθροισθεῖσα ἱστοριῶν, περὶ τῆς πρὸς Αὐγαρον ἀποσταλείσης ἀχειροποιήτου θείας εἰκόνης Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς ἐξ Ἑδέσης μετεκομίσθη πρὸς τὴν πανευδαίμονα αὐτὴν καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων Κωνσταντινούπολιν.

5

- 1 Οὐκ ἄρα μόνος αὐτὸς ἀκατάληπτος ἦν ὁ συναΐδιος τῷ Πατρὶ Θεὸς Λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πλείω σχεδόν, ἣ καὶ πάντα τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας γνώφῳ περικαλύπτεται, οὐ μόνον ὅσα τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο δημι-
ουργῶν ὑπεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ δι' οἰκονομίαν προσλήμματα τοῦ
ἡμετέρου φυράματος ὁμιλήσας ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ μίαν ἐκείνην 10
ἐνήργει τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος δύναμιν. Καὶ χρηὶ πάντως τὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ
ἀγνοοῦντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι γινώσκοντα, μὴ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα
καυχᾶσθαι μηδὲ κενεμβατεῖν ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἣ πάντα εἰδέναι φιλονικεῖν, ἣ
μηδὲ εἶναι ἄπερ αὐτὸς οὐ κατείληφε. Τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐκτυπώματος
τῆς θεανδρικῆς τούτου μορφῆς, ὃ ἀγρόφως ἀνετυπώθη τῷ ὑπερφυεῖ τοῦ 15
δρῶντος βουλήματι, εἰς τὸ ὑποδεξάμενον ὕφασμα καὶ τότε μὲν τῷ Αὐ-
γάρῳ ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἱασιν, νῦν δὲ ἐξ Ἑδέσης πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν
αὐτὴν τῶν πόλεων οἰκονομία πάντως θεοῦ, πρὸς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς καὶ

1 Κωνσταντίνου ... Ῥωμαίων om. I V X ML₃ Es Mi₂ Mi₃ | Κωνσταντίνου] Κωνσταν-
τίνω D | βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ om. Q R S T U W Y Di₂ | αἰωνίῳ om. ML₂ ML₃ Di₂ |
βασιλέως] καὶ βασιλεῖ D | Ῥωμαίων] add. τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου ML₂ ML₃ | διήγησις]
add. πάνυ θαυμαστὴ καὶ ψυχοφελὴς ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃, add. θαυμαστὴ καὶ ψυχοφελὴς
X A B C D E F 1 2 διήγησις ... ἱστοριῶν om. P₂ 2 πρὸς] εἰς Di₂ 3 θείας
om. Pr | Χριστοῦ] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ I Pr ML₁ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Es Me Mi₂ Mi₃ P₁ P₂ |
Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν] τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ K VA |
ἐξ om. Va, ἐξ Ἀιδέσης Di₂ 4 αὐτὴν om. T | καὶ βασιλίδα om. C D E G Di₁ Mi₁,
καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων om. Mi₂ | τῶν πόλεων] πόλιν I Es, τῶν om. G 5 Post
Κωνσταντινούπολιν add. κύριε εὐλογῆσον C, πάτερ εὐλογῆσον G Mi₁, εὐλογῆσον πάτερ
Y Di₂ Va, δέσποτα εὐλογῆσον Mi₃ 1 3 om. Pa 6 Οὐκ ἄρα] Οὐ γάρ Mi₂ |
μόνον G Pr ML₁ Va | Θεὸς Λόγος] λόγος καὶ θεὸς D 7 τὰ om. Pr Va | καὶ om.
V X Iv ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃ 8 γνώφῳ] αὐτῷ G | ὅσα ὁ τὸ πᾶν ML₃ 9 προσλήμματα]
προστάγματι Y 10 ὁμιλήσας D 11 12 μὴ ἀγνοοῦντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν om. Me
12 ἄμετρα] ἡμέτερα Mi₁ 13 κενεμβατεῖν] κενεμματεῖν Es | φιλονικεῖν G W, φιλονι-
κεῖ Me 14 μηδὲ εἶναι] μὴ εἰδέναι Mi₁ | μηδὲ] μὴ U Y Pr Di₂ | εἶναι] εἰδέναι X |
κατείληφεν Mi₂ 15 ἐνετυπώθη X Q R S T U W Y A¹ Di₁ Di₂ ML₂ ML₃ Iv 595 Va
Mi₂ Mi₃ 16 εἰς] ἥς Y Pr ML₁ ML₂ ML₃ Di₂ Va 18 οἰκονομίαν C

1 5 Λόγος ἱστορικὸς διήγησιν ἔχων περὶ τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου μορφῆς τοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ διὰ τίνος καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Αὐγαρον (Ἀγβαρον V) καὶ ὅπως θεία προμηθεῖα διεκομίσθη καὶ ἀπεδόθη πρὸς τὴν θεοφύλακτον καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων V Pa

The story of the holy image of Christ, our God, which was not made by human hands, and how it was sent to Abgar. The story was written by Constantine, Emperor of the Romans in Christ the eternal king, and also tells how the image was brought from Edessa to the most blessed
 5 queen of cities, Constantinople.

Not only was the God the Word, coeternal with the Father, beyond
 all understanding by himself, but also most or even all of his works
 are covered by the same dark veil of incomprehensibility. This is true
 not only for what he did as creator of everything, but also for when
 10 he took on our nature according to the divine dispensation, in that
 original and unique power of his divinity. Whoever is not unaware of
 himself, and whoever realises that he does not know what is above
 him, must neither boast excessively nor tread on air like an ignorant
 by contending that he either knows everything or that the things he
 15 has failed to understand do not exist. And so, as far as the figure of his
 divine and human form is concerned, which was transferred with no
 artistic intervention onto the cloth that received it by the supernatural
 will of its maker, and was then sent to Abgar in order to heal him,
 it has now been transferred from Edessa to this ruling city by God's
 20 all-encompassing dispensation, for its salvation and protection, so that

φυλακὴν μετενήνεκται, ὡς ἂν μηδενὸς τῶν καλῶν ἐνδεὲς δοκῇ, ἐν πᾶσιν ὀφείλουσα πάντων κρατεῖν. Οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον ἀκροατὴν τε καὶ θεατὴν, τὴν ἱστορίαν μὲν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἀκριβῶς μαθεῖν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἐθέλειν ἀπαραιοποιῆτον τὴν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν τοῦ πῶς ἐξ ἱκμάδος ὑγρᾶς δίχα χρωμάτων καὶ τέχνης τῆς γραφικῆς 5 ἐναπεμόρχθη τὸ τοῦ προσώπου εἶδος ἐν τῷ ἐκ λίνου ὑφάσματι καὶ πῶς τὸ ἐξ ὕλης οὕτως εὐφθάρτου τῷ χρόνῳ διαφθορὰν οὐκ ἐδέξατο καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὁ φυσικῶς δῆθεν ἐπιβάλλων τοῖς πράγμασι φιλεῖ πολυπραγμόνως διερευνᾶν τῷ ἀνεφίτῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας παραχωρεῖν, εἰδώς, ὡς, εἴ τις 10 πάντα φιλονεικῇ τῷ νῷ διαλαβεῖν ἀκριβῶς, εἰς τὴν παντελεῖ ἀγνωσίαν ὥσθεις καὶ εἰς ἄβυσσον ἀκαταληψίας ἀποπεσών, κινδυνεύσει περὶ τὰ καίρια ζημιωθεὶς τὰ μεγάλα, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὰ μικρὰ συγχωρεῖν. Ὅσοι οὖν τῶν περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθῶν καὶ θερμοτέρων περὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἐνταῦθα συνεληλύθατε, δεῦτε, ἀκούσατε, καὶ διηγῆσομαι ὑμῖν, ἅπερ τῇ δεούσῃ βασιάνῳ ἕκαστα πολυπραγμονήσας, καὶ οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως περὶ τὴν τῆς 15 ἀληθείας διαγενόμενος ζήτησιν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἱστορίας γραψάντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντων, ἃ ὡς δι' ἀπορρήτων τῇ μνήμῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς διασώζεσθαι ἔλεγον, ἀκριβῶσαι ἐξίσχυσα.

- 2 Τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀνορθώσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκδημήσαντος, ἣν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου 20 φωνήν, πλῆθος εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ πολύαρχον διεσκέδαστο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μιᾶς ζώνης, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀπάσης διαζωσθείσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ταττομένης σημάτορι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαι πάντων καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπιμυξίαι ἐγίνοντο ἀδεῶς καὶ οὐ μεμερισμένως τὴν γῆν οἰκεῖν ἐδόκουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνὸς Δεσπότης κτῆμα τυγχάνου- 25

1 μετενήνεκται B 2 ὀφείλουσαν I Y PR ML₁ Di₂ Va Es Mi₁ P₂ | Καὶ οἶμαι Iv ML₂ Mi₃ 3 τε καὶ θεατὴν om. Iv | μὲν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἀκριβῶς om. P₂ | τῶν om. D | μαθεῖν om. C Di₁ Mi₁ 4 ἐθέλειν] ἐλθεῖν Pr Di₁ Di₂ ML₁ ML₃ Va 5 τέχνη B 6 ἐναπεμόρχθη] ἐναπεμορφώθη A B C D H I K Q R S T U W Y Pr Di₁ Va Es Me Mi₁ Mi₃ P₂, ἐναπεμάχθη V², ἐναφίθη D | λίνου V, λίνων U Y 8 ὁ φυσικῶς δῆθεν ἐπιβάλλων om. B Me | φυσικὸς Di₂ 8 9 ἐπιβάλλων τοῖς πράγμασι φιλεῖ πολυπραγμόνως διερευνᾶν] ἐπιβάλλων καὶ πολυπραγμόνως διερευνῶν Di₂ 8 πράγμασι om. Q Y, πράγμασιν Di₂ | πολυπραγμόνος Pr 9 παραχωρεῖτω Di₂ 10 φιλονεικῇ Q R U G, φιλονεικῇ Di₁ Di₂ Iv ML₁ ML₂ ML₃ Va 10 11 ἀγνωσίαν ὥσθεις καὶ εἰς om. U 13 τῶν om. Iv ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃ | ὀρθοὶ V X Iv ML₂ ML₃ | θερμοτέροι V X Iv ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃ 15 πολυπραγμάνησας F 17 εἰς ἡμᾶς Di₁ Di₂ ML₁ Iv | τὴν μνήμην D | καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς Va 20 ...σει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκδημή... om. G | ἐκδημήσαντος B F I R Pr Di₁ ML₁ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Va Es Mi₁ Mi₂ P₁ P₂ 21 τὸ om. X ML₃ | διεσκέδασται B Me 22 ὥσπερ] ὥστε G | ζώνης R 23 τοῦτο] τοῦ Es 24 ἀδεῶς] ἀδαιῶς Me 24 25 οἰκεῖν τὴν γῆν Di₂ 25 καὶ κτῆμα Mi₁

it may not seem to be deficient in anything, as it should always be mistress of everything. I think that every pious and just listener should insist on learning the story in all detail for himself, and wish to obtain genuine knowledge about the ancient tradition. How the form of a
5 face could be imparted onto the linen cloth from a moist secretion with no paint or artistic craft, and how something made from such a perishable material was not destroyed with time, and whatever else the supposed investigator of natural causes is wont to enquire into with curiosity: these questions he should yield to God's inscrutable wisdom,
10 knowing that if someone attempts to understand everything in all detail, he will be thrust into complete ignorance, and falling into the pit of unknowing, will be in mortal danger by losing the important things in his concern not to appear to admit those that are of no account. So, all of you who have come together here with upright faith and enthusiastic
15 zeal, come and listen, and I will tell you what I have been able to verify after carefully and duly checking each detail, both from the writers of history and from the local people who have come here and told us what their memory has preserved as if by secret tradition.

In the times when our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ came to
20 us to raise up our fallen race, the world was at peace in accordance with the prophet's voice, polyarchy had been disbanded and the whole inhabited world was as if under one belt—Roman rule—and subject to one ruler. And so all dealings of all peoples with others were carried out in peace and men did not appear to inhabit a divided world, but
25 were all under one master, just as the universe is under one creator.

σαν, ὡς καὶ ἑνὸς τὴν πᾶσαν οὖσαν δημιουργοῦ, τῷ πρώτῳ τὸν αὐχένα
 δοῦλον ὑποκλίναντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνευον. Διὸ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἐδέσης τὸ
 τηνικαῦτα τοπάρχης Αὐγάρος, τῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξηγουμένῳ φίλος καὶ
 γνώριμος ἦν καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους οἱ ἑκατέρων ἐφοίτων διάκονοι. Ὅθεν καὶ
 κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον, καθ' ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς τὸ πατρικὸν
 βούλημα πληρῶν, τὴν σωτήριον διδασκαλίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προὔτιθετο
 καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπερφυῶν καὶ παραδόξων θαυμάτων εἰς τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν πί-
 στιν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπέστρεφε, συνέβη τῶν τοῦ Αὐγάρου ὑπηρετῶν τινα
 Ἀνανίαν ὀνομαζόμενον, πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἰόντα
 περιτυχεῖν καὶ θεάσασθαι πόρρωθεν τὸν Χριστὸν τὰ πλήθη τοῖς λόγοις
 τῆς πλάνης ἐξέλκοντα καὶ τὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπιτελοῦντα παρὰδόξα. Ὡς
 οὖν τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον πορείαν διήνυσεν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπετέτραπτο διαλα-
 βῶν ἀνθυπέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρθρίτιδι χρονίᾳ τυραν-
 νούμενον ἦδει καὶ μελαίνῃ λέπρα ἐκδαπανώμενον καὶ διπλὴν συμφορὰν,
 μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλὴν τὴν νόσον ποιούμενον, οἷς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρ-
 θρων ὀδύναις συνείχετο καὶ τοῖς τῆς λέπρας ἐταλαιπώρει κακοῖς. Προσῆν
 δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀμορφίας αἰσχὺνη, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ θεατὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σχε-
 δὸν ἦν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μόνον κλινήρης τὰ πολλὰ διετέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κατ'
 ἐπίσκεψιν ἐρχομένους τῶν φίλων ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐναπεκρύπτετο. Διὰ τοῦτο
 πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν, ἀκριβέστερον περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διαγνῶναι ἐσπού-
 δασεν, ἵν' ἔχοι βεβαίως ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἴσως ἀκακείνος
 τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ ἰατρείας ἀξιωθῇ. Εὗρεν οὖν πάλιν τὸν Κύριον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐ-
 τῶν, νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶντα, τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπειν δωρούμενον, χωλοὺς ἀρτίους
 δεικνύντα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἀσθενοῦντας ῥωννύοντα.

1 πᾶσαν οὖσαν] πανουροῦσαν G, οὖσαν om. D 2 δούλῳ Q R U Di1 Di2 | ὑποκλί-
 ναντος D | εἰρήνευσαν ML3 Va | Αἰδέσης Di1 | τὸ om. X ML2 ML3 Iv 4 καὶ γὰρ
 ἀλλήλοις Di2 ML2 Iv | ἑκατέρων V Mi2 Mi3 5 Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Mi3 6 ἐκ-
 πληρῶν Va | προετίθετο C 7 ὑπερφυῶς G | θαυμάτων] πραγμάτων τε καὶ θαυμάτων
 ML2 ML3 Mi3, πραγμάτων τε καὶ θαυμάτων Iv | περὶ αὐτῶν F 8 ἐπέστρεφεν Mi2 |
 τινα ὑπηρετῶν τι ML3 10 πόρρωθεν θεάσασθαι Q R U Di2 Va, θεάσασθαι πόρρω
 V X, πόρρωθεν om. I | πόρρωθεν] πόρρω Mi3 | τοῖς λόγοις om. Di2 13 ἀνθυπέ-
 στρεφεν] ἀνθυπέστρεφον Es | ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Di1 Di2 ML1 ML3 Va Es | χρονία V
 X ML3 Mi3, διχρονία ML2, διχρονίᾳ P1 14 ἥδη Di2 15 πονούμενον ML2 |
 οἷς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ] οἷς καὶ ἀπὸ Pr, οἷς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ P2, οἷς] corr. von Dobsch tz 16 δς
 συνείχεται G 17 ἡ τῆς ἀμορφίας] καὶ τις ἀμορφίας ML3 | τοῖς om. ML2 ML3 Iv Mi2
 Mi3 18 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μόνον] Καὶ οὐ μόνον ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3, Καὶ οὐδὲ μόνον Va, Ἀλλ'
 οὐ μόνον Mi2, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μόνον προσιτός C, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσιτός μόνον Di1, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 προσιτός μόνον Mi1 19 φύλων Pr | ἐναπεκρύπτω ML3 Iv 20 περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ C
 Mi1 21 ἔχει Pr ML2 Iv | βεβαίως] βεβαία Me | ἐπαγγεῖλαι Di1 ML2 Iv Va 22 τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ Iv 595 23 δωρούμενον] δωρούμενος Mi1

Everybody bowed his neck in submission to the emperor and lived in peace with one another. This was why the ruler of Edessa at the time, Abgar, was a friend and acquaintance of the leader of Egypt, and messengers from both places visited each other frequently. So
5 it happened at that time when our Lord and God was fulfilling his father's will, teaching men about salvation and turning them to faith in him through his wonderful and marvellous miracles, one of Abgar's servants, called Ananias, happened to be travelling through Palestine to Egypt. He saw Christ from afar, drawing the crowds out of error with
10 his words and carrying out wonderful miracles. When Ananias reached Egypt and fulfilled what he had been entrusted with, he went back to his master. He was aware that Abgar was afflicted with chronic arthritis and worn out by leprosy. This double, or rather multiple illness meant that the joints in his limbs caused him pain, and the sufferings from the
15 leprosy made him wretched. He was ashamed of being so disfigured, and so hardly anybody was admitted to see him. Not only did he spend most of his time in bed, but in shame he also hid away from any friends who came to see him. On his way back, Ananias made efforts to find out more about these things so that he would be able to tell his master
20 something definite, and maybe even Abgar would be considered worthy of being cured by Jesus. He found the Lord again preoccupied with the same issues, namely raising the dead, restoring sight to the blind, healing lame limbs and curing whoever was ill.

- 3 Ὡς οὖν ἐπιστώθη καὶ ἔγνω ταῦτα φανερώς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου τελούμενα, τῷ
 Αὐτάρῳ ὑποστρέψας ἐγνώρισε καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἅ τε εἶδεν ἅ τε ἤκουσεν
 ἀνεδίδαξεν. Ὅθεν ὡς μείζον τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πάρεργον παρεμπορευσάμενος
 καὶ ὡς εὐαγγελίων αὐτῷ καταγγελεὺς δεξιῶν, τῆς προσηκούσης ἀποδοχῆς
 κατηξίωτο καὶ τῶν εὐνουστάτων εἷς ἐγνωρίζετο. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ κάμνον ἀεὶ
 ὡς ἄρπαγμα ποιεῖται τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τῆς ἰατρείας καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος περι-
 σαινούσης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, σπουδαίως περὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ μνησθέντος πεί-
 θει ὀρμᾶν. Καὶ ὁ Αὐγαρος πρὸς τὸ διὰ γραφῆς μετακαλέσασθαι διανέστη
 τὸν ἰᾶσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόμενον δύνασθαι καὶ παραχρῆμα τὴν παντα-
 χοῦ περιφερομένην ταύτην ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἔγραψεν, οὕτως 10
 περιέχουσιν.

Epistula Abgari secundum V A B C G I Q U
Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Pa Va Es Me Mi1 Mi2 P1 P2

- 4 Αὐγαρος τοπάρχης Ἑδέσης, Ἰησοῦ Σωτῆρι ἀναφανέντι ἀγαθῷ ἱατρῷ ἐν
 πόλει Ἱεροσολύμων, χαίρειν. Ἦκουσαί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 15
 ἱαμάτων, ὡς ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων. Ὡς λό-
 γος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις
 καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ
 βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκού-
 σας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο· ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ 20
 καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ ὅτι Υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα.
 Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας, ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι καὶ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με καὶ
 τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω θεραπεῦσαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογ-
 γύζουσι σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σε. Πόλις δὲ σμικροτάτη μοί ἐστι καὶ
 σεμνή, ἣτις ἐξαρκέσει ἀμφοτέροις τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν αὐτῇ. 25

1 οὖν om. I Es 2 ἐγνώρισε] ἐγνώρισεν Mi2 4 ἀγγελίων X | αὐτῷ om. Pr
 6 ἱατρείας] ἱστορίας I Q U Di1 Di2, λατρείας ML2 ML3 Iv Es | καὶ om. ML2 ML3
 Iv 7 σπουδαῖος B | θήραν] θύραν P2 | μνησθέντος] μνησθέντος P2 | μνησθέντος]
 μνησθέντος Mi1 8 ὁ om. Es | πρὸς τῷ Pr ML1 ML2 Iv, πρὸς τὸν Es | καλέσασθαι
 Pr 9 δύνασθαι] καὶ αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι add. V, ὡς δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι
 ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 | καὶ δὴ παραχρῆμα V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 10 τὸν om. ML2
 ML3 10 11 οὕτως περιέχουσιν om. Es 14 15 Αὐγαρου ... χαίρειν om. Pa
 14 ὁ τοπάρχης Mi2 | ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἱατρῷ ML1 P1, ἀγαθῷ ἱατρῷ ἀναφανέντι Mi2
 16 ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων om. B Me | γενομένων Pr 16 17 Ὡς γὰρ ὁ λόγος Di1, Ὡς
 ὁ λόγος B Q U Me, Ὡς γὰρ λόγος Pa Mi2 17 τυφλοῖς V Pa 18 δαμῶνια Pa |
 ἐλάνεις I Pr ML1 Va Es Me Mi1 Mi2 P1 P2, ἐκβάλλεις Pa 19 πάντα om. ML1
 P1 21 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Di1 Mi1 Mi2 24 σου] σε B Me 25 ἐξαρκεῖ V Pa Mi2 |
 ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν I Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Pa Va Me Mi1 Mi2 P1 P2 | ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν εἰρήνῃ Pa
 Mi2

Once he knew for sure that these things were being done by the Lord, 3
 he went back to Abgar and let him know about this, telling him in all
 detail what he had seen and heard. The extra work he had done was
 greater than his main mission, and he had given good news to Abgar,
 5 therefore he was deemed worthy of a fitting reception and reckoned
 among his most trustworthy servants. Since the sufferer always seizes on
 the promise of healing, and man is always cajoled by the hope of being
 healed, Abgar made haste to communicate with this man he had been
 told about. He decided to write a letter to the man who was said to be
 10 able to perform such cures and ask him to come to him. The letter was
 soon well-known everywhere, and its contents were as follows.

Abgar's letter to Jesus according to V A B C G I Q U
Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Pa Va Es Me Mi1 Mi2 Pr

Abgar the ruler of Edessa to Jesus the saviour, the good healer who has 4
 15 appeared in the city of Jerusalem greetings. I have heard about you
 and your cures, that you carry out without medicine or herbs. I am
 told that you make the blind see, the lame walk, you cleanse lepers and
 cast out unclean spirits and demons, you cure those who are tortured
 by lengthy illnesses and raise the dead. Having heard all this about
 20 you, I have come to the conclusion that one of the following things
 is true either you are God and have come down from heaven to do
 these things, or you are the Son of God doing them. I have therefore
 written to you to ask you to take the trouble to come to me to cure the
 sickness I have. I have also heard that the Jews are murmuring against
 25 you and want to do you harm. I have a small but noble city, which is
 enough for both of us to live in peace.

Epistula Abgari secundum X Iv ML2 ML3 M13

Αὐγαρος τοπάρχης Ἐδέσης, Ἰησοῦ Σωτῆρι ἀναφανέντι ἀγαθῷ ἱατρῷ ἐν
 πόλει Ἱεροσολύμων, χαίρειν. Ἦκουσται μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν
 ἰαμάτων, ὡς ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ποιεῖς θεραπείας καὶ ὅτι τῷ
 λόγῳ μόνῳ τυφλοῖς τὸ ὄρᾶν χαρίζῃ, κυλλοῖς τὸ περιπατεῖν, κωφοῖς τὸ
 5 ἀκοῦειν καὶ λεπροῦς καθαρίζεις καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρα δαμόνια λόγῳ ἀπε-
 λαύνεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις καὶ γυναῖκα
 αἰμορροῦσαν σοῦ ἀψαμένην ἰάσω καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
 ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κύριε, ἐνενόησα τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, ὅτι εἷς ἐκ τῶν δύο εἶ
 ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα ἢ ὅτι Υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ
 10 θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. Διὰ τοῦτο δέομαί σου διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ παρακαλῶ
 σε, ἕως ἐμοῦ ἐλθεῖν μὴ ἀπαξιώσης, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω θεραπεύσης.
 Ἀνηνέχθῃ δέ μοι ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσι σου καὶ βούλονται σε
 ἀνελεῖν. Ἔστιν οὖν μοι πόλις βραχυτάτη καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκέσει ἀμ-
 15 φοτέροις ἡμῖν τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἐρρωσθαι με κέλευσον,
 κύριέ μου.

- 5 Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Ἀνανίας τῆς τε πρὸς τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ εὐνοίας σαφῇ παρεῖχε
 τεκμήρια καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐτύγγανεν ἔμπειρος καὶ τὴν γραφικὴν τέχνην ἠπί-
 στατο, δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐξαπέστειλεν,
 ἐπισκήψας αὐτῷ, ὡς εἰ μὴ δυνηθεῖν πείσαι διὰ τοῦ γράμματος πρὸς αὐτὸν
 20 ἐλθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, κἄν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τῆς μορφῆς αὐτοῦ μεταγραφάμενον
 ἀκριβῶς, ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἵν' ὡς ἐν σκιᾷ γοῦν διδαχθεῖν, μὴ δι'
 ἀκοῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων
 τεραστίων δημιουργός. Καὶ δὴ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταλαβὼν ὁ ἀποσταλεῖς,
 25 εὗρε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῷ συρρεῦσαντι δῆμῳ διαλεγόμενον καὶ
 τερατουργοῦντα τὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐξαίσια. Διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλου
 κατ' ἄλλην χρεῖαν ἐληλυθότων, μὴ οἷός τε ὢν ὁ Ἀνανίας πλησιάσαι τῷ
 Ἰησοῦ, ἐπὶ τινα πέτρᾳ μικρὸν ἀνεστηκυῖαν τῆς γῆς, οὐ πόρρω τῆς τοῦ

2 τοπάρχης] βασιλεὺς X M13 | Ἐδέσης πόλεως X M13 | Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ X | ἀγαθῷ
 ἱατρῷ om. X M13 3 Ἱεροσολύμοις X M13 8 αἰμορροῦσας Iv 10 ὁ om. X
 14 βραχυτάτη πόλις M13 | καὶ om. ML2 ML3 M13 | ἀρκέσει X M13 15 ἡμῖν om.
 ML3 | τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν αὐτῇ om. M13 | ἐν αὐτῇ om. ML2 ML3 17 ὁ
 om. D12 | τῆς τε om. U 18 γραφικὴν] ζωγραφικὴν V X2 Iv ML3 Pa Es 18 19
 ἠπίστατο] ἐπίστατο P2¹ 19 ἀπέστειλεν Pr, ἐξαπέστειλε Es 21 τὸ om. ML1 P1 |
 μεταγραφάμενος A B C I Q U D11 D12 ML1 Va Es Me M11 P2 23 διὰ om. ML3 |
 οἷός τέ ἐστιν Iv ML2 ML3 24 δὴ om. M11 25 τὸν Χριστόν] τὸν Κύριον Pr D12
 ML2 Va | συρρεῦσαντι Pr 26 τερατουργοῦντα] συνήθως add. X Iv ML3 Va M13 |
 ἄλλου] ἄλλον Es 27 ὁ om. C 28 p.18.1 τοῦ Κυρίου] τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Pa

Abgar's letter to Jesus according to X Iv ML2 ML3 Mi3

Abgar the ruler of Edessa to Jesus the saviour, the good healer who has appeared in the city of Jerusalem greetings. I have heard about you and your cures, that you carry out without medicine or herbs. It is said
 5 that you give sight to the blind, make the crippled walk, the deaf hear, you cleanse lepers and cast out unclean demons by your word, you cure those who are tortured by lengthy illnesses, you healed the woman with a haemorrhage who touched you, and you raise the dead. Having heard all this about you, Lord, I have realised in my heart that you are
 10 either God and have come down from heaven to do these things, or you are the Son of God doing them. With this letter I therefore beg and entreat you not to deem me unworthy of your coming, so that you may cure the sickness I have. It has reached my ears that the Jews are murmuring against you and want to do away with you. I have a small
 15 but noble city, which is enough for both of us to live in peace. Order that I may be healed, my Lord.

Since Ananias had given clear proof of his affection towards his master, 5 and given that he already knew the route, and knew how to paint, Abgar sent him to take this letter to Jesus. He instructed him that if
 20 he could not persuade Christ to come to him with the letter, he should carefully copy the likeness of his form and take that to him, so that he could at least learn through a faint shadow what the author of these great wonders looked like, and not merely hear about him. Ananias set out on his mission and reached Judea, and found Christ in the open
 25 air speaking to the crowd who had gathered, and working wonderful miracles. Ananias could not get near Jesus because of the crowd, who had come from different places for different reasons, and so he went and climbed onto a rock that stood out a little above the ground and

Κυρίου διατριβῆς ἀπελθῶν ἐκαθέζετο. Καί, ὡς ἦν αὐτῷ καταφανής ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκεκρυμμένος καὶ ὑπερανέχων τῶν πολλῶν, εὐθύς ἐκείνῳ μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τῷ δὲ χάριτι τὴν χεῖρα προσήρειδε καὶ τὴν τοῦ φαινομένου μετέγραφεν ὁμοιότητα.

- 6 Ἐγὼ οὖν ταῦτα τῷ πνεύματι ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν μετακαλεσά- 5
μενος, Ἀπελθε, φησί, πρὸς τόνδε τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας
καθεζόμενον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν μορφὴν μεταγράφοντα, ἄγαγε πρὸς
με, ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ ἦν οἴκοθεν ἦλθεν ἔχων ἐπιστολὴν, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ
ἀποστείλαντος αὐτὸν ἐκπληρώσῃ διαταγὴν. Ἀπελθὼν οὖν ὁ Θωμᾶς καὶ
τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾧ ἤκουσεν εὐρεῖν διαπραττόμενον ἐπιγνούς, ἦγαγε 10
πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἶπεν
αὐτῷ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς παρουσίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν
δύναμιν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. Εἶτα λαβὼν ταύτην καὶ διελθὼν, ἐτέραν ἐπιστολὴν
πρὸς Αὐγαρον ἀντεπέθηκεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

Epistula Iesu secundum V A B C G I Q U
Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Pa Va Es Me Mi1 Mi2 Pt P2

15

- 7 Μακάριος εἶ, Αὐγαρε, πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοί, μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Γέγραπται
γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοὺς ἑωρακότας με μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν ἐμοί· καὶ ἵνα οἱ μὴ
ἑωρακότες με, αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται. Περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐπὶ πάντα, δι' ᾧ ἀπεστάλην ἐνταῦθα, πληρῶσαί με, 20
καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με Πατέρα.
Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοι ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅστις τὸ

1 ὡς om. Pa | καταφανεί ML1 2 ἀποκεκρυμμένος Pa | ὑπερέχων V X ML2 Mi3
3 προσήρειδεν A B V Pr Es Me Mi2, προσείρειδε Pa 5 τῷ om. ML2 | ὁ Χριστὸς]
ὁ Ἰησοῦς B Q U Di2, ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς I Di1 6 Ἀπελθε, φησί] ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν·
ἀπελθε V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | φησὶν A Pr Di1 ML1 7 τὴν ἐμὴν μορφὴν]
τῆς ἐμῆς μορφῆς ὁμοίωσιν V, τὴν τῆς ἐμῆς μορφῆς ὁμοίωσιν X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi2
Mi3 8 ἐπιφερόμενον] ἐπιφέροντα Pr Va, om. B Me | ἦλθεν om. Va | ἐπιστολὴν]
ἐπιστο Di2 (lacuna) 9 οὖν om. Es | ὁ ἀπόστολος Θωμᾶς V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa
Mi3 10 ἦγαγεν αὐτὸν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 11 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi2 Mi3 12 τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρουσίας αὐτοῦ V X ML2
ML3 Iv Mi2 Mi3, τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ Pa 13 ἐτέραν ἐπιστολὴν om.
Mi3 14 πρὸς Αὐγαρον om. B, πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi2 Mi3 |
ἐπέθηκεν B Me | ἔχουσα P2 | ἔχουσιν οὕτως Di1 Mi1 19 ζήσονται A B I Q U W
Di2 Va Es Me Mi1 P2 20 ἐπὶ] ἐστὶ V A2 B C I Q Pr Di2 Iv Pa Va Mi2, ἐστὶν Es |
πάντα om. Iv | δι' ὅ B Me | ἐνταῦθα om. Mi2 | με om. B Me 21 ἀναληφθῆναι
με B, ἀναληφθῆναι με καὶ Me 22 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναληφθῶ om. P2 | ἀναληφθῶ Di1 |
σοι om. Es | ἕναν Pa

sat down, not far from where the Lord was speaking. He was able to distinguish the Lord among the crowd as he stood out from the people, and immediately set his eyes on Jesus and his hand to the parchment, and started to copy the likeness of what he could see.

- 5 Christ realised in his spirit what was happening and called Thomas 6
over. Go over there , he said, and bring me the man sitting on the
rock and painting my form. He should bring the letter he brought from
his home, so that he can fulfil the orders of the one who sent him .
Thomas went away and recognised Ananias from what he had heard
10 he was doing, and took him to Jesus. Before he took the letter from
him, Christ told him why he had come, and the content of the letter.
He then took it and read it, and wrote another letter to Abgar, reading
verbatim as follows:

Jesus' letter to Abgar according to V A B C G I Q U
Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Pa Va Es Me Mi1 Mi2 Pr

15

- Blessed are you, Abgar, for believing in me without having seen me. For 7
it is written about me that those who see me will not believe in me, so
that those who have not seen me can believe and live. As for what you
wrote to me about coming to you, I have to fulfil everything I was sent
20 here for, and after fulfilling this be taken up to the Father who sent me.
When I have been taken up I will send you one of my disciples, who

πάθος σου θεραπεύσει καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ εἰρήνην σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ
παράσχοι καὶ ποιήσει τῇ πόλει σου τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν
κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς.

Epistola Iesu secundum X Iv ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃

Μακάριος εἶ σύ, Αὐγαρε, καὶ ἡ πόλις σου ἣτις καλεῖται Ἑδεσα· μακάριος 5
εἶ ὅτι ἐπίστευσας εἰς ἐμέ, μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Ὑγιεία ἐτοίμασθήσεται σοι
διαπαντός. Περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν με πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐπὶ πάντα
δι' ἃ ἀπέσταλμαι ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ἀναληφθῆναι
με πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με Πατέρα· ἀποστελῶ δέ σοι ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν
μου ὀνόματι Θαδδαῖον, ὅστις τὸ πάθος σου θεραπεύσει καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον 10
καὶ εἰρήνην σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχει καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πᾶσι· καὶ ποιήσει
τῇ πόλει σου τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς.

- 8 Ἐπιδούς οὖν τῷ Ἀνανία τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Χριστός, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ
τοῦ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν ἔγνω διαμερι-
μῶντα αὐτὸν καὶ φροντίζοντα, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ ὁμοιότητα 15
πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπενεγκεῖν, νηπιάμενος ὕδατι τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἶτα
τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου ἱκμάδα ἐν τῷ ἐπιδοθέντι αὐτῷ χειρομάκτρῳ ἀπομαξάμε-
νος, ἐντυπωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρα ἐν αὐτῷ ὥκονόμησε θείως καὶ
ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἀνανία ἐπιδούς, τῷ Αὐγάρῳ ἐπιδοῦναι προσέ-
ταξεν, ὥς ἂν τοῦ τε πόθου παραμύθιον καὶ τῆς νόσου αὐτὸ σχῇ. Ὡς οὖν 20
ὑποστρέφων μετὰ τούτων ὁ Ἀνανίας, εἰς τὸ κάστρον Ἱεραπόλεως ἔφθασεν,
ὃ τῇ μὲν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φωνῇ Μεμβίχ λέγεται, τῇ δε τῶν Σύρων

1 θεραπεύσει A B Pr ML₁ Me P₁ P₂, θεραπεῦσαι Q | αἰώνιον] add. σοι Me | εἰρήνην
πᾶσι τοῖς σὺν σοὶ Pa 2 παράσχει C Di₂, παράσχη I Di₁ Es Mi₁, παράσχουσι U |
ἱκανὸν Pa 7 δέον ἐπὶ πάντα] δέον ἐστὶ Iv ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃ 8 δι' ὃ X ML₂ Mi₃ |
καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι om. Mi₃ 9 με om. ML 644 | δέ om. Iv 10 Θαδδαῖον]
Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον τὸν καὶ Λεββαῖον X ML₃ Mi₃ | σου τὸ πάθος Mi₃ 11 καὶ τοῖς
σὺν σοὶ παράσχει] παράσχοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ Mi₃ 12 αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς ἕως τῆς συντελείας
τοῦ κόσμου X Mi₃ 14 15 διαμεριμῶντα B, διαμεριμνοῦντα V X Pa 15 τουτέστιν B
ML₁ Mi₁, τοῦτ' ἔστιν V 16 ὕδατι om. Pa 17 ἐν om. ML₂ Iv Mi₃ | αὐτῷ om. B Me
| χειρομάκτρ B X Me, χειρομάκτρην Pa 18 αὐτοῦ X, ἑαυτοῦ Me | χαρακτήρα] ἅγιον
χαρακτήρα ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa 19 τούτῳ τῷ ML₁ P₁ | ἐπιδοῦναι] ἀποδοῦναι V ML₁
Pa Mi₁, ἐπιδοθῆναι C Q U Di₂ ML₁ Pa 20 τοῦ τε] τοῦτο Di₁ | πόθου] πόνου I |
αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ B Me | σχῇ add. κατεῖχεν δὲ ὁ Ἀνανίας καὶ ὅπερ εἰκόνημα ἀνετύπωθεν
Mi₂² 21 ὃ om. ML₁ 22 p. 22.1 ὃ τῇ ... Μαβούκ om. Mi₃ 22 τῶν (ι) om. ML₁
ML₂ | Μεμύχ B V¹, Μεμύχ Pr ML₁ Va P₁, Μεμβίχ Iv | λέγεται] ὀνομάζεται Di₁ Mi₁

will cure your illness and give eternal life and peace to you and those with you. He will also do for your city all that is necessary, so that no enemy will prevail over it.

Jesus' letter to Abgar according to X Iv ML2 ML3 Mi3

5 Blessed are you, Abgar, and your city, which is called Edessa. You are
blessed because you have believed in me without having seen me. Good
health is stored up for you forever. As for what you wrote to me about
coming to you, I have to fulfil everything I was sent here for, and after
fulfilling this be taken up to the Father who sent me. I will send you one
10 of my disciples, called Thaddaeus, who will cure your illness and give
eternal life and peace to you and to all those with you. He will also do
for your city all that is necessary so that no enemy will prevail over it.

Christ gave this letter to Ananias. Since he knew Ananias was anxious 8
and concerned about the other order his lord had given him, namely
15 to take back to him a likeness of Jesus' face, the Saviour washed his face
in water and wiped the liquid from it onto a cloth that he had been
handed, and arranged in a divine way beyond understanding for his
own likeness to be imprinted upon the cloth. He gave it to Ananias and
told him to give it to Abgar, so that he might have some consolation
20 for his desire and for his illness. On his way back with these objects,
Ananias reached the stronghold of Hierapolis, which in Arabic is called
Membich and in Syrian Mabouk. He settled down for the night outside

Μαβούκ, ἔξωθεν τοῦ τοιούτου καταλύσας πολίσματος, σωρείας κεράμων
 νεωστὶ κατασκευασθέντων ἐκείσε κεμένης, ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο ῥά-
 κος ὁ Ἀνανίας ἀπέκρυψε. Καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας πῦρ ἐφάνη πολὺ τὸ τοι-
 οῦτον χωρίον κυκλοῦν, ὥς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἄστεος δοκεῖν πάντα τὰ πέριξ πυρὶ
 καταφλέγεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἤδη δέισαντας ὑπεξελθεῖν καὶ διερευνη- 5
 σθαι περὶ τῆς ὀρωμένης πυρκαϊᾶς. Ἐκεῖσε δὲ τὸν Ἀνανίαν εὗρεθέντα,
 συνεῖχον ὥς αὐτουργὸν τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ διερευνῶντο περὶ τοῦ πρά-
 γματος καὶ τίς τε εἶη αὐτὸς καὶ ποῖ βαδίζει καὶ ὅθεν, διεπυνθάνοντο.

- 9 Ὡς δὲ τῷ ἄλλοκότῳ τῆς αἰτιάσεως ὁ Ἀνανίας διηπορεῖτο, τέως τε ὅθεν
 εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ τί ἐπιφέρειται διεσάφησε καὶ ἀποθέσθαι ἐν τοῖς 10
 κεράμοις ἐδήλωσε τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον, ὅθεν ἐδόκει ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ ἡ φλόξ.
 Εὐθύς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν τῶν λεγομένων διαγνῶναι βουλευθέντες ἀλήθειαν καὶ
 τὸν τόπον διερευνησάμενοι, εὗρον οὐ μόνον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνανίου ἐκείσε
 ἀποτεθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλησιάζοντι τῶν κεράμων ἐνὶ ἑτερον ἐκτύπωμα
 τοῦ θείου ἀπεικονίσματος, παραδόξως καὶ ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄστροakon 15
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑφάσματος τῆς ἀγράφου μεταγραφείσης μορφῆς. Ὁ καὶ θεασά-
 μενοι καὶ θάμβους ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γενόμενοι ἔμπλεω, διὰ τε τοῦτο
 καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδαμοῦ πῦρ εὗρεθῆναι καιόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ μορφῇ
 λαμπηδόνης δόξαι τὴν φλόγα ἐκπέμπεσθαι, τὸν μὲν κέραμον τὸν ἀπομα-
 ξάμενον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα, κατέσχον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ τι 20
 κειμήλιον ἱερὸν καὶ πολύτιμον θησαυρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀραθέντος τὴν περὶ αὐ-
 τὸ στοχασάμενοι θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν· τὸ πρωτότυπον δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου διά-
 κονον δέισαντες κατασχεῖν, ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον. Καὶ νῦν ἐστι
 σωζομένη καὶ τιμωμένη παρὰ τοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης πολίχνης οἰκήτορσιν ἢ ἐν

1 Μαβούμ C | ἔξωθεν τοῦ τοιούτου καταλύσας πολίσματος om. Va | τούτου καταλύ-
 σας τοῦ πολίσματος Pa | σωρείας Pa 2 ἐκείσε om. Mi2, τῶν ἐκείσε Va 2 3 ῥάκ-
 κος Di1 Mi3 | ῥάκος ὁ Ἀνανίας] ὁμοίωμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Mi2² 3 ἀπέκρυψεν
 Q V Pr ML1 Mi2 Mi3 Pr | μέσας] μέσ Pr | μέσας νύκτας] τὸ μέσον τῆς νυκτός Pa
 3 4 τοιοῦτο Mi2 4 περικυκλοῦν I Q U Di1 Di2 | ὥς τοὺς ἐντὸς Iv ML2 Pa Mi3,
 ὥς τοὺς τόστοῦ (sic) Mi2 5 ἑαυτῶν] αὐτῶν Mi2² | ἤδη om. Iv 7 ὥς om. P1 |
 διερευνῶντο A V X ML1 ML2 8 ποῖ] ποῦ Pa 9 ἄλλοκότῳ A B | αἰτήσεως Di2 |
 τέως τε ὅθεν] τέως δὲ ὅθεν τε V X Pr Di1 ML1 ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi2 Mi3 Pr,
 τέως τε ὅθεν δὲ Es 10 διεσάφησεν ML1 Es Mi2 Mi3 Pr | ἀποθέσθε Pa 11 καὶ
 om. X 12 δὲ om. V X ML2 Mi2 Mi3 | βουλευθέντες διαγνῶναι Di2 | καὶ om.
 Pr 13 ἐρευνησάμενοι Pa | ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ Pa 16 ὑφάσματος τῆς ἀγράφου] ὁμοιώματος
 Mi2² 17 Θαμβός Di2 ML2 Pa | ἔμπλεω V X ML2 ML3 Pa 18 καὶ om. Pa |
 τῆς ἐν om. B Me, ἐν om. Di2 20 ἐν om. Di1 | τι om. C Mi1 P2 21 22 αὐ-
 τὸν B Me, αὐτοῦ V ML2 ML3 Pa Mi3 (περὶ om. Pa), ἑαυτοῦ X 22 τὸ om. ML3,
 τὸν B 22 23 διάκονον] διάκονον ἡγουν τὸν Ἀνανίαν V Pa 23 ἀπέστειλον Di1
 24 τιμωμένη Di1 | τοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης] τοῖς τοιαύτης Pa¹ ML3 Va, τοῖς τοιαύτοις Pa² |
 πολίχνης Pa

the town, next to a pile of tiles that had recently been made, and hid the holy cloth there. Around midnight a great fire appeared around the place, and in the city people thought that the whole area was on fire. They were afraid for themselves and left the town to find out what was
 5 the blaze that they had seen. There they found Ananias and arrested him as the author of the deed. They investigated the event and asked him who he was, where he was going and where he had come from.

Ananias did not know why they were asking him about such strange things, and so he openly told them where he was from, where he had
 10 come from, and what he was carrying with him. He told them he had placed what he was carrying among the tiles, from where the flames seemed to be springing. They immediately wished to find out the truth about what he had said and searched the place. Not only did they find what Ananias had put there, but on one of the tiles that was touching it,
 15 another figure of the divine representation, his form miraculously and wonderfully transferred onto the tile from the unpainted cloth. When they had seen this, they were filled with fear and amazement. They could not find any fire burning, rather the flames seemed to proceed from the light in the figure. They kept the tile which had received
 20 the divine imprint for themselves as a sacred heirloom and valuable treasure, and guessed from what they had seen that it contained divine energy. They were afraid to retain the original image and its bearer and sent them on to Abgar. Even now, that image on the tile is still preserved and venerated by the inhabitants of this town, being an

τῷ κεράμῳ μορφῇ, τῆς μορφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου ἢ ἄγραφος, καὶ τῆς ἀχειρο-
τεύκτου ἢ ἀχειρότευκτος. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας τὴν προκειμένην αὐτῷ πορείαν
διηनुκῶς, τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ μεταξὺ διετράνωσεν, ἀποδοὺς καὶ ἃ ἐπεφέ-
ρετο σωτήρια σύμβολα.

- 10 Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων λεγόμενος λόγος περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὑφά- 5
σματι ταύτης ἀγράφου μορφῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. Λέγεται δέ τις καὶ
ἕτερος περὶ τούτου λόγος, οὔτε τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκφεύγων, οὔτε μαρτύρων
χρηστῶν ἀπορῶν. Διὸ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκθήσομαι, ἵνα μὴ τις ὑποτοπάσῃ ἐν
τῷ ἀγνοεῖν με τοῦτον, κρατύνειν τὸν ἕτερον. Καὶ πάντως οὐδὲν θαυμα-
στὸν ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ πλανᾶσθαι πολλάκις τὴν ἱστορίαν. Περί μὲν γὰρ 10
τὸ καίριον τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὁμοίως πάντες συμφέρονται καὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν,
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυριακοῦ προσώπου τὴν ἐν τῷ ὑφάσματι ἐκτυπωθῆναι παραδό-
ξως μορφήν. Περί τι δὲ τῶν τοῦ πράγματος, ἥτοι τὸν καιρὸν διαφέρον-
ται. Ὁ οὐδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαίνεται, εἴτε πρότερον, εἴτε ὕστερον γέγονεν.
Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως καὶ τῶν λόγων ὁ ἕτερος. 15

- 11 Ἐν τῷ μέλλειν, φασί, τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον πάθος ἐλθεῖν, ἥνικα
τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀγωνιῶν ὥρᾳτο καὶ προσευ-
χόμενος, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἰδρωτάς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβους σταλάσσειν αἵμα-
τος ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγος ὑποσημαίνεται, τηνικαῦτα, φησίν, ἀπὸ τινος
τῶν μαθητῶν λαβόντα τὸ νῦν βλεπόμενον τοῦτο τεμάχιον τοῦ ὑφάσματος, 20
τάς τῶν ἰδρωτῶν λιβάδας ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπομάξασθαι· καὶ εὐθέως ἐντυπωθῆ-
ναι τὴν ὀρωμένην ταύτην τοῦ θεοειδοῦς ἐκείνου εἰδους ἐκτύπωσιν, ὃ τῷ
Θωμᾷ παραθέμενος μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς αὐτοῦ ἄνοδον, διὰ Θαδδαίου

1 τῆς μορφῆς om. Va | ἔγγραφος X Mi3 2 χειρότευκτος X Mi3 | πορείαν] τρίβον Pa
5 οὕτως AV Me P2 5 6 τῆς ἐν τῷ ὑφάσματι ταύτης ἀγράφου μορφῆς] τῆς τοιαύτης
μορφῆς Mi2² 6 μορφῆς] θείας μορφῆς V X ML2 ML3 Iv | τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν]
τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 |
Λέγεται δέ τις καὶ] Λεγέσθω δὲ καὶ Di2, Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Pa 7 8 μαρτύρων χρηστῶν]
μαρτῷV¹, μαρτυριῶν V² Pa 8 ὑποτοπήσῃ X Mi3, ὑποτοπή Pa 9 ἀγνοεῖν με]
ἀγνοῆν Pa¹, ἀγνοεῖν με Pa² | με om. ML3 Pa, μὲν X | τοῦτο V 10 πολλάκις om.
Mi2 | γὰρ om. ML3 11 ὁμοίως om. P2 12 13 ἐκτυπωθῆναι παραδόξως μορφήν]
ἐκτυπωθεῖσαν μορφήν Mi1 13 τι δὲ] δὲ δὲ ML3 | τι om. C Mi1, τὲ Pr ML2 | τῶν τοῦ
πράγματος, ἥτοι τὸν καιρὸν διαφέρονται] τὸν τοῦ πράγματος καιρὸν διαφέρονται Di1 Mi1
| τῶν om. X Mi3, τὸν C Es | ἥτοι τὸν om. C 14 λυμαίνεται X Va, μολύνεται Pr |
εἴτε (1)] εἴπερ Mi1 15 οὕτω ML3 | τῶν λόγων] τὸν λόγον B Me | ὁ om. Pr Iv ML1
16 φασίν Mi2 | Χριστὸν] add. καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν V X Iv ML2 Pa Mi3 17 τὴν om. C Mi1
| ἀσθένειαν Pa | ὥρᾳτο Iv ML1 Va 18 θόμβους Di1 | σταλάσσει I 18 19 αἷματος
σταλάσσειν Pa 19 ἀποσημαίνεται B Me | τηνικαῦτα] τὸ τηνικαῦτα V X ML2 |
φησίν om. Es, φασιν ML3 20 λαβόντα] λαβὼν Va | τὸ om. Pr | τοῦτο om. Va |
τεμάχιον Iv ML1 Va 22 τὴν ὀρωμένην om. P2 | ἐκείνου εἰδους om. Es | ἐντύπωσιν
Pa

icon not painted by human hands after another image not painted by human hands either. Ananias completed the journey that lay before him and told his lord everything that had happened on the way. He also gave him the symbols of salvation he had brought with him.

5 This is the story according to most sources, regarding the image of our Saviour on the cloth not painted by hand. However, there is another version, which is not improbable and does not lack reliable witnesses. For this reason I shall present this second version so that nobody assumes I gave preference to the first one out of ignorance of the
 10 second. It would not be at all strange if confusion has arisen in the story over such a long time. All the sources agree on the main fact, that the form on the cloth was miraculously transferred from the Lord's face. They disagree on some of the details, such as when this took place. Whether it happened earlier or later does not alter the truth of the
 15 matter. The other version is as follows.

It is said that when Christ was about to willingly undergo suffering, he displayed human weakness and prayed in anguish. The gospel tells us that his sweat fell like drops of blood and then it is said that he took this piece of cloth, which can still be seen, from one of his disciples,
 20 and wiped off the streams of sweat on it. The figure of his divine face, which is still visible, was immediately transferred onto it. He gave it to Thomas and told him to send it to Abgar with Thaddaeus after

τῷ Αὐτάρῳ ἀποστεῖλαι προσέταξε, τὴν διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκπληρῶν. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, δούς ὁ Θωμᾶς τῷ Θαδδαίῳ τὴν ἀχειρόγραφον τοῦ Κυριακοῦ προσώπου ἐκμόρφωσιν, πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον ἐξαπέστειλε.

- 12 Καταλαβὼν τοίνυν ὁ Θαδδαῖος τὴν Ἔδεσαν, ἔμεινε πρῶτον παρὰ τινι 5
τῶν αὐτόθι Ἰουδαίων. Τωβίας οὗτος ὠνόμαστο. Καὶ δὴ πρὸ τῶν λόγων,
ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων θέλων ἑαυτὸν γνωρίσαι τῷ Αὐτάρῳ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθη-
τῆς, τοὺς ἀσθενούντας τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλήσει μόνῃ Χριστοῦ ἐθεράπευσεν.
Ὅθεν ταχὺ τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων συμβαίνειν
φιλεῖ, τὰ γὰρ παράδοξα τῶν πραγμάτων πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν 10
ἀπαγγέλλοντας, ἔφθασε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον διὰ τινος τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνα-
στῶν Ἀβδοῦ καλουμένου, ἡ περὶ τῆς ἐνδημίας τοῦ ἀποστόλου Χριστοῦ
ἀκοή. Λογισάμενος οὖν εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς ὑποικουρούσης ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλπίδος
τοῦτον ἐκείνον εἶναι, ὃν ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰ τῆς γραφῆς
ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τελειώτερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ Θαδδαίου μαθὼν, 15
ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν διωρίσατο. Ὁ οὖν Τωβίας ἐλθὼν ἐγνώρισε
ταῦτα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ κακεῖνος ἐν δυνάμει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεστάλθαι εἰπών,
τὸ ἐξῆς πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον παρεγένετο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλειν κατὰ πρόσω-
πον αὐτῷ ἐμφανίζεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου μετώπου οἷον ἀναστηλώσας τὴν
τοιαύτην ἐμφέρειαν, οὕτως εἰσῆγει πρὸς Αὐγαρον. Ὁ δὲ πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν 20
προσιόντα ἰδὼν, κρεῖττον ὄψεως φῶς ἀκτινοβολοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ
ἐξαλλόμενον ἐδόκει ὄρξιν, ὃ τὸ ἐπικείμενον ἠφίει ὁμοίωμα. Ὅθεν τῷ ὑπερ-
βάλλοντι τῆς ἀστραπτούσης λαμπηδόνης καταπλαγείς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν λήθῃ
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμπτωμάτων γενόμενος καὶ τῆς πολυχρονίου παρέσεως
τῶν μελῶν, τῆς κλίνης ἀθρόως ἀνέθορε καὶ πρὸς ὑπαντὴν τὰ παρεμμένα 25
μέλη τρέχειν ἐξεβιάζετο, ταὐτὸ πάθος παθὼν τρόπον ἕτερον τοῖς ἐν τῷ
ὄρει Θαβὼρ τὴν ἀστράψασαν μορφὴν θεασαμένοις.

1 τοῦ Αὐτάρου Q U | ἀποστεῖλαι | ἀποσταλῆναι Mi1 | προσέταξεν Mi2 4 ἐξαπέ-
στειλεν Q V ML1 Es Mi2 P2 5 ἔμεινε V 7 γνωρίσαι ἑαυτὸν Pa 8 Χριστοῦ
om. Pa 9 Ὅθεν ταχὺ τῆς φήμης] Ὅθεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς φήμης Di2 10 περὶ αὐτῶν
om. Mi2 11 καὶ om. Mi3 12 Ἀβδου B Pr Di1 ML1 ML2 Pa 13 ἀκοή Pa |
εὐθέως] add. ὁ Ἀγβαρος V, add. ὁ Αὐγαρος X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 | ἐποικουρού-
σης V 15 ἐπηγγείλατο] add. τὸν Τωβίαν μετεκαλέσατο Mi2 | παρ' αὐτοῦ] παρὰ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ Ἀβδου V X Iv Mi3, παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀμδου ML2 ML3 Pa Va | τελειότερον Pr
ML3 17 δυνάμει] add. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 18 τῇ ἐξῆς V
X Pr ML1 ML2 ML3 Pa Va Mi2 P1 19 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν Pa, αὐτοῦ P2 21 ἀκτινοβο-
λοῦντα B Pa Me 22 ὃ τι Pa | ἀφίει ML2 Iv 22 23 ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ML2 ML3 Iv
23 καταπλαγής X 24 αὐτῶν B Pa 25 ἀνέθορε Di2, ἀνέθορεν Mi2 | ὑπαντὴν X
26 μέλει Di1 | ταυτὸ] ταυτὰ τὸ ML3 | ἕτερον τρόπον Pr 27 ἀστράψουσιν X ML2
Iv Mi3 | θεασαμένοις μορφὴν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi2 Mi3, θεασαμένοις δόξαν Pa |
θεασάμενος A1 B Q U Di1 Me Mi1 P1

his ascension into heaven, thus fulfilling what he had promised in the letter. When our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven, Thomas gave the image of our Lord's face that was not painted by hand to Thaddaeus, and sent him to Abgar.

- 5 Thaddaeus came to Edessa and at first stayed with one of the Jews from 12
the city, who was called Tobias. The disciple of Christ wished to make
himself known to Abgar first by works rather than words, and so he
cured the sick in the city just by calling on Christ. The word got round
quickly, as normally happens in cases such as this one — there are many
10 people to talk about wonderful deeds. Abgar heard about where the
apostle of Christ was staying through one of his officials called Abdos.
He immediately thought from the hope that lay hidden in him that
this was the person whom Jesus had promised to send in the letter. He
found out more about Thaddaeus from Abdos, and ordered him to be
15 brought before him. Tobias went and told the apostle, and Thaddaeus
answered that he had been sent to him in power and at once went in
to see Abgar. Just before he came into the king's presence, he placed
the likeness on his own forehead and went in thus to Abgar. The king
saw him coming from afar and seemed to see a light shining out of his
20 face, too bright to look at, sent forth by the likeness that was covering
him. Struck by the bright shining light, and as if he had forgotten about
his illness and the longstanding paralysis of his limbs, he quickly got up
from his bed and forced his limbs to run to meet the apostle. He felt the
same, although in a different way, as those who saw the figure flashing
25 with lightning on Mount Tabor.

13 Λαβὼν τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁμοίωμα καὶ σεβασμίως
 αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθίεις καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσι καὶ οὐδὲ τ'
 ἄλλα τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν στερήσας τῆς τοιαύτης προσπαύσεως, ἔγνω
 παρευθὺ τὰ μέλη πάντα θαυμασίως ἀναρρωνύμενα καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ κρεῖτ- 5
 τον μεταβολὴν εἰσδεχόμενα καὶ τὴν λέπραν ἐκκαθαίρομένην καὶ ὑποφεύ-
 γουσιν, εἰ καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ λειψανόν τι ταύτης μικρὸν ὑπελείπετο.
 Διδαχθεὶς οὖν τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον τότε πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου τρα-
 νότερον καὶ περὶ τῶν παραδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ θαυμάτων, τῶν τε θείων
 παθῶν καὶ ταφῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸς
 ἀναλήψεως καὶ ὁμολογήσας ἀληθῆ Θεὸν τὸν Χριστόν, περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ὀνό- 10
 νῃ ἐκτυπώσεως τῆς μορφῆς ἐπυνθάνετο, ἐπεὶ περ αὐτὴν ἀκριβέστερον ἐπι-
 στάς, ἐπεγίνωσκεν οὐ διὰ χρωμάτων ὑλικῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχουσιν καὶ
 τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατεπλήττετο δύναμιν, ὑφ' ἧς παραδόξως ἐξανέστη τῆς κλί-
 νης καὶ συνηριθμεῖτο τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θαδδαῖος τὸν καιρὸν
 τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐδήλου καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰδρώτων ἀχρωμάτιστον μόρφωσιν καὶ 15
 τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰσήγησιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα
 τὸ φθάσαν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδήλωσεν.

14 Ὡς οὖν ἀπὸ τε τούτων ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιθέ-
 σεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Θαδδαίου τὰ λυποῦντά τε ὑπεξίστατο καὶ τὰ παρει- 20
 μένα οἶονεῖ συνεσφίγγετο καὶ ἡ ἀμορφία διεσκεδάννυτο καὶ πάντα πρὸς
 ὑγίαν ἀνέτρεχε, τῷ πανταχόθεν θάμβει ὁ Αὐγαρος συνεχόμενος, Ἐπ'
 ἀληθείας, ἔφη, γνήσιος εἶ μαθητῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ δίχα
 φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν θεραπεύοντος. Καὶ ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον τῇ περὶ αὐ-

1 τοίνυν] add. ὁ Αὐγαρος ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 | ἀποστόλου] add. Θαδδαίου ML2
 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | ὁμοίωμα] ἅγιον ὁμοίωμα ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 2 τῇ] add. τε Di1
 ML1 ML2 ML3 Pa Es Mi2 Mi3 | παρὰ Pr | καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσι καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι I |
 ὄμμασιν U Pr Iv | χεῖλεσιν U | οὐτὲ Pa 2 3 τὰ ἄλλα ML2 ML3 Iv 3 μερῶν]
 μελῶν X Iv Mi3 4 μέλῃ] μέρῃ Iv | ἀναρρωνύμενα B, ἀναρρωνύμενα V | εἰς] πρὸς
 V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi2 Mi3 5 6 ἀποφεύγουσιν Pr Di1 ML1, φεύγουσιν Mi3
 6 μετόπῳ V | ὑπελείπετο Pa Me 7 παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τότε Va | πρὸς] παρὰ V X
 ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 7 8 τρανότερον X 8 τε] καὶ ML3 9 ταφῆς] τῆς ταφῆς
 V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 10 ἀληθῆ Di1 | τὸν Χριστόν θεὸν P2 10 11 περὶ τῆς ...
 ἐπυνθάνετο] ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς ... μορφῆς Di1 Mi1 10 τῇ om. Di1 11 12 ἐπιστάς
 A B C Q U Pr Mi1 P2 12 ἐπεγίνωσκε C V2 X Pr Di1 Iv1 Pa Va Mi1 Mi3 | οὐ om. A
 B C ML11 ML2 Iv1 Es Me1 Mi1 Mi3 P1 P2 (οὐ ἔχουσιν A) | οὐ] μὴ V Pr Pa ML12 |
 οὐ διὰ] δίχα Mi2 14 ὑγιαίνουσιν B C V Pr ML1 Es Me Mi1 P1 15 τὴν] τῶν B
 16 τοῦ om. Q U | τ' ἄλλα Pr Di1 Di2 Es Mi2 18 Ὡς οὖν ... τῷ ὀνόματι] Ἐν τούτων
 οὖν πάντα ἐκ τε τῆς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Pa 19 τοῦ Θαδδαίου] τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου V
 X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | τε om. C Mi1 20 συνεσφίγγοντο C Mi1 21 ἔτρεχε A Q
 U ML1 ML2 ML3, ἀνέτρεχεν V Mi2 22 ἀληθεία B, ἀληθείας Di1 | ἔφη om. Mi2 |
 Ἰησοῦ] add. Χριστοῦ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Va Mi3

He received the likeness from the apostle and with great reverence 13
put it round his head, on his eyes and on his lips, and did not omit
any of the rest of his body. He knew immediately that his limbs had
been miraculously healed, and changed for the better. His leprosy was
5 cleansed and left him, except for a small spot that was left on his
forehead. He heard the word of truth more clearly from the apostle,
and all about the wonderful miracles of Christ, his divine passion and
burial, his resurrection from the dead and his ascension into heaven.
He confessed that Christ is truly God and asked about the gure of
10 his form imprinted upon the linen cloth. When he understood it in
detail, he realised it had not been created with natural colours, and
was amazed at its power through which he had miraculously risen
from his bed and was now numbered among the healthy. Thaddaeus
in reply told him about the time of Christ's agony and how the form
15 had come about from the drops of sweat, with no paint involved. He
also explained how his coming to the king had been ordained by the
Lord, and the other details that have already been told in our story.

After Abgar's pain had been taken away, and his paralysed limbs were 14
tautened and his deformity had disappeared, and everything was tend-
20 ing towards good health from this and from Thaddaeus laying on his
hands in the name of Jesus Christ, the king was completely astounded
and said, Truly you are a real disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who
cures without medicine or herbs. I am bound by such love and faith

τὸν στοργῇ καὶ πίστει συνδέδεμαι, ὥστε εἰ μὴ ἐδεδίειν τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως, οἱ τοῖς ὑπὸ σφᾶς οὐκ ἀνέχονται κατ' ἀλλήλων
 ὀπλίζεσθαι, τάχα ἂν κατὰ τῶν σταυρωσάντων τὸν Κύριον Ἰουδαίων ὅπλα
 ἐκίνησα, καὶ παρεστησάμην καὶ ἠνδραποδισάμην αὐτούς. Νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ
 τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ ἐδιδάχθην ἐκούσιον καὶ πέπεισμαι ὥς οὐκ ἂν, μὴ βου- 5
 ληθέντος αὐτοῦ, κατίσχυσαν οἱ ἀγνώμονες κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν προσπερι-
 εργάζομαι. Δέομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ πανοικί
 προσοικειωθῆναι καὶ ἀνατεθῆναι τῷ Δεσπότη Χριστῷ . Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἐπι-
 τελέσας πρότερον θαύματα ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολος καὶ πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν
 νόσων αὐτῶν ἰασάμενος, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην τῷ 10
 Αὐγάρῳ ἀνενεγκών, ὃν ποδαλγικοῦ παθήματος ἡλευθέρωσε, προσήγαγε
 τῇ θείᾳ κολυμβήθρᾳ τὸν Αὐγαρον καὶ τὰ νενομισμένα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελέσας,
 ἐβάπτισεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου τούτου τῆς καθάρσεως ὕδατος,
 καθαρὸς ὅλος καὶ ὑγιής, ἀφανισθέντος ἀθρόως καὶ τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος 15
 μικροῦ λειψάνου τῆς λέπρας ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ αὐτοῦ.

- 15 Ἐντεῦθεν παντοίως τιμῶν καὶ σεβόμενος τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁμοίωμα τῆς τοῦ
 Κυρίου μορφῆς, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ τοπάρχης προσέθηκεν. Ἐκ τῶν
 παλαιῶν τῆς Ἑδέσης πολιστών τε καὶ οἰκιστῶν τῶν ἐπισήμων τινὸς ἐλ-
 ληνικῶν θεῶν ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς δημοσίας πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἀνεστήλωτο, 20
 ᾧ πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ἄστεος γενέσθαι βουλούμενον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προσ-
 κυνῆσαι καὶ νενομισμένας εὐχὰς τινὰς ἀποδοῦναι καὶ οὕτως ἔχεσθαι τῶν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁδῶν τε καὶ ἀγυῶν. Τοῦτο οὖν τότε ὁ Αὐγαρος καθελὼν καὶ

1 ὑπερέχων Pr ML₁ 2 τῶν om. Me | τοῖς] τοὺς X Di₂ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Va | ὑπὸ
 σφᾶς] τὸ σφᾶς Es 3 τάχα] τάχει Es 4 καὶ ἠνδραποδισάμην om. I Q U Pr Di₂ Va
 6 κατίσχυσαν ... αὐτοῦ om. Pa 6 7 περιεργάζομαι I ML₁ Es P₁ 7 δὲ] add. λοιπὸν
 V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Va Mi₃ 8 προσοικειωθῆναι A B, προσφκειωθῆναι Va | καὶ
 ἀνατεθῆναι om. I Pr Va | ἀνατεθῆναι] ἀναθεῖναι Di₂ ML₃ Va 9 θαύματα πρότερον
 Di₂ | ἀπόστολος] add. Θαδδαῖος V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ | πάντας] πάντων Mi₂
 11 ἀνενεγκών] add. ὀνόματι Τωβίας V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ | ὃν] add. καὶ V X Iv
 Pa Mi₃ | ποδαλγικοῦ] ποδαλγικοῦ V X Mi₃, ποδαλγηκοῦ Pr | ἡλευθέρωσεν A Q V Es
 Mi₂ P₁ P₂ | προσήγαγεν Q Es P₁ 12 τὰ om. Es 13 16 desunt Mi₂ 14 αὐτοῦ]
 add. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος V X ML₂ ML₃
 Iv Pa Mi₃ | Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν] Καὶ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Di₂ 15 ἀθρόως καὶ τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος
 om. A 16 αὐτοῦ om. Mi₁ 17 p.34.4 deest Mi₂ 18 τοῖς ἄλλοις] τοῖς ἄλλοις
 αὐτοῦ καλοῖς V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 19 πολιτῶν Pr Di₁ Di₂ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa |
 τινὸς] add. δὲ Pr ML₂ ML₃ Iv 19 20 ἐλληνικῶς C Di₁ Mi₁ 20 τῆς (2) om.
 Pr 21 ᾧ] δ V | πάντα om. Va | ἄστεος] ἄστεως B 22 εὐχὰς τινὰς ἀποδοῦναι]
 τινὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι Di₁ Di₂ Va Mi₁, τινὰς ἀποδοῦναι εὐχὰς V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa
 Mi₃ 23 τε καὶ ἀγυῶν om. Pr Va, καὶ om. Es | ἀγυῶν V X | Τοῦτο οὖν τότε] Τοῦτο
 οὖν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ δαμονιώδες ἄγαλμα τότε V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Mi₃, Τοῦτο οὖν τὸ
 ἀκάθαρτον καὶ δαμονιώδες τότε ἄγαλμα Pa | τότε om. Pr Di₁ ML₁ Va

in him that if I did not fear Roman power, which does not permit its subjects to wage war against each other, I would willingly have taken up arms against the Jews who crucified the Lord, have conquered them and sold them into slavery. Now that I have learnt about his willing
 5 passion, I am convinced that those cruel people would not have been able to do anything to him against his will, and I will not go into the matter any further. I pray to be considered worthy of divine baptism and to join and dedicate myself with all my household to Christ the Lord. The Lord's apostle worked many other wonders and cured
 10 everyone of their sicknesses, among whom was the one who had first told Abgar about him. He cured him of the gout. He then took Abgar to the sacred baptismal font. He performed the prescribed rites over him and baptised him, his wife and his children, and everyone else in his household. Abgar came out of the divine water of cleansing
 15 completely clean and healthy. The spot of leprosy that had been left on his forehead entirely disappeared.

From that moment on Abgar honoured the likeness of the Lord's form 15 and held it in great honour. And in addition to everything else, the ruler did the following. A statue of a certain Greek god had been
 20 erected before the public gate of the city by the ancient founders and preeminent citizens of Edessa. Everyone who wished to enter the city had to worship the statue and say some prescribed prayers, and thus walk down the city streets and roads. Abgar took this statue down and

ἀφανισμῷ παραδούς, εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκείνου στάσεως τόπον τὴν ἀχειροποιή-
τον ταύτην εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ σανίδος κολλήσας
καὶ διὰ τοῦ νῦν φαινομένου χρυσοῦ καλλωπίσας, ἀνέστησεν, ἐπιγράψας
ἐν τῷ χρυσοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα· Χριστὲ ὁ θεός, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπο-
τυγχάνει. Ἐθέσπισέ τε πάντα τὸν διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐκείνης διέρχεσθαι μέλ- 5
λοντα, ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης στήλης τῆς ἀχρήστου καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς, τὸ
προσῆκον σέβας καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην προσκύνησιν καὶ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τῇ
πολυθαυμάστῳ θαυματουργῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνι καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν
Ἐδέσης εἰσέρχεσθαι. Καὶ διετηρήθη τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβεί- 10
ας οἷον προχάραγμα καὶ ἀνάθημα μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ παροικίας αὐτοῦ
τε τοῦ Αὐγάρου καὶ τοῦ τούτου υἱοῦ, ὃς τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας
τῆς πατρικῆς κατέστη διάδοχος. Ἄλλ' ὁ τούτων υἱὸς τε καὶ υἰώνος τῆς μὲν
πατρῴας καὶ παππῶας ἀρχῆς διάδοχος γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας
κληρονόμος ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἀπελάκτισεν, ὥς εἰπεῖν, τὴν εὐσεβειαν καὶ πρὸς 15
τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα ἠὺτομόλησε. Διὸ καὶ οἰονεῖ τὸ ἀνταπόδομα
τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνταποδιδούς, ἐβουλήθη, ἐπεὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰδω-
λικὴν ἐκείνην στήλην ἀφανισμῷ παραδέδωκε, τὴν αὐτὴν καταδίκην καὶ
τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰκόνι προσαγαγεῖν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχε τῆς θήρας ὁ δόλι-
ος. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ τόπου τοῦτο προγνούς, τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἔθετο 20
πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ τόπος, καθ' ὃν ἀνέκειτο ἡ εἰκὼν, κυλινδροειδοῦς ἡμι-
σφαιρίου σχῆμα διέσωζεν, θρυαλλίδα πρὸ τῆς εἰκόνης ἄψας καὶ κέραμον
ἐπιθεῖς, εἴτα ἔξωθεν τιτάνῳ καὶ πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἀποφράξας τὸ ἐμβαδόν,
εἰς ὁμαλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ τεῖχος ἀπηύθυνε. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ ὀραῖσθαι τὴν
φθονουμένην μορφὴν, ἀπέστη τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκεῖνος ὁ δυσσεβής. Ὁ δὲ

1 ἀφανισμῷ] παντελεῖ ἀφανισμῷ V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 4 ἐλπίζων] ἐλπίας B
Me 4 5 ἀποτυγχάνει] add. ποτε V X Mi₃ 5 διὰ τῆς πύλης om. Pr, διὰ om. X
ML₂ Iv Mi₃ 5 6 μέλλοντα διέρχεσθαι Pr, μέλλοντα εἰσέρχεσθαι Va 7 προσείκον
Pa | τιμὴν καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν I | τιμὴν] τὴν τιμὴν Q U Di₂ ML₃ | ἀπονέμει Pa
7 8 τῇ πολυθαυμάστῳ] τῇ τιμίᾳ καὶ πολυθαυμάστῳ V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 8
θαυματουργῷ] καὶ θαυματουργῷ V X Pa | τοῦ om. Pa 9 Ἐδεσσαν X ML₂ Iv
| διετηρήθη Di₁ | τὸ om. B K Q R S T U W Y Di₁ Di₂ Es Me Mi₁ Mi₂ P₂
9 10 εὐσεβείας] add. θέσπισμα V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 11 τοῦ Αὐγάρου om.
C, Αὐγάρου καὶ τοῦ τούτου om. Mi₁ | τούτου om. C 12 υἰώνος] οἰωνός Pr 13 καὶ
παππῶας om. Pa | μὴν] add. δὲ C Di₁ Mi₁ 15 ἠὺτομόλησεν Q V ML₁ Es Mi₃ P₁,
αὐτομόλησεν Pr 16 17 τὴν εἰδωλικὴν] τὴν μαρὰν καὶ εἰδωλικὴν V X
ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 17 παραδέδωκε] παρέδωκε Di₁ Pa 19 τοῦ τόπου om. Mi₁ |
προγνούς] add. ἐκ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 20 ἡ om. Es |
ἡ εἰκὼν] add. τοῦ σωτήρος V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 21 διέσωξε V X I Di₂ ML₂
ML₃ Iv Pa Va Mi₃ P₂, διέσωσεν Pr | τῆς εἰκόνης] τῆς θείας εἰκόνης V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv
Pa Mi₃ | ἄψας] ἀνάψας V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Mi₃, ἀναγράφας Pa 22 πλίνθοις V |
ὀπαῖς A 23 ὁμαλὸν Pr Di₁ Pa Va, ὁμαλὴν Di₂ ML₃ | ἀπηύθυνεν V, ἐπηύθυνε Q U
Pr Di₂ ML₂ Pa 24 ἐκεῖνος] ἐκεῖνης X ML₂ ML₃ Iv

destroyed it, and placed the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was not made by human hands, in its place, fixed to a wooden board and adorned with the gold that can still be seen. He had these words inscribed on the gold, Christ, God, whoever hopes in you will never be
5 let down . He decreed that everybody who was going to pass through the gate had to pay the proper respect, due homage and honour to the wonderful miracle-working image of Christ, instead of the old, useless and worthless statue, and thus enter into the city of Edessa. The custom and devotion of this pious man were maintained during Abgar's own
10 life and that of his son, who inherited both his father's kingdom and his piety. His son's son, Abgar's grandson, however, inherited his father's and his grandfather's rule, but not their piety. He let piety slip, so to speak, and went over to demons and idols. Just as his grandfather had destroyed the statue of the idol, as if to make up for this to the demons
15 he wanted to mete out the same treatment to the image of the Lord. This wicked man did not get what he wanted, because the bishop of the city realised in advance what would happen and took appropriate measures. Given that the place where the image was kept was shaped like a cylindrical semicircle, he showed great foresight and lit a lamp in
20 front of the image and put a tile on top of it. He then sealed the surface off with gypsum and baked bricks, finishing the wall off on the same

κέραμος διὰ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, πρὸ τῆς εἰκόνος τεθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως διώριστο, ὥς ἂν μή τινα σῆψιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς εὐρώτος καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ τιτάνου νοτίδος ἐγγενέσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑποδοχεῖ τῆς εἰκόνος ὑφάσματι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου βλάβην προσδέξεται.

- 16 Ἐρρει τοίνυν ὁ χρόνος διὰ μέσου πολὺς καὶ τῆς ἕξ ἀνθρώπων μνήμης 5
ἀπερρῦη καὶ ἡ ἀναστήλωσις τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης εἰκόνος καὶ ἡ ἀπόκρυψις.
Ὡς οὖν ἐν τοῖς οἰκειοῖς καιροῖς Χοσρόης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τὰς
τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἑδεσαν ἔφθασε· καὶ πρὸ ταύτης
πηξάμενος χάρακα, πᾶσαν μηχανὴν ἐκίνει καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς ἄλλωσιν πόλε-
ως ἐπιτήδειον ὄργανον ἐξηρτύετο, ἔτεκταίνετο δὲ πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀφέσεις 10
βελῶν, κατασεῖσεις τειχῶν, διαθραύσεις πυλῶν. Ἐν τοσούτῳ κινδύνῳ οἱ
Ἑδεσσηνοὶ γεγονότες, ἐπενόουν μὲν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀντιπαρά-
ταξιν, διεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ περὶ βοηθείας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατη-
γούς. Ἰλίῳν δὲ, ὁ τότε τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων ἡγούμενος καὶ καθ’
ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πονούμενος, τοῖς ἐν Ἑδέσῃ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι 15
οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. Διὰ γραμμάτων δὲ παρεθάρρυνε, τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναμι-
μνήσκων ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποφάσεως, δι’ ἧς ἀπόρ-
θητον τηρεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ λέγεται καὶ πιστεύεται. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μετὰ
τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιθέσεως καὶ τὰ ἀφανῶς ἐπενόουν ἐπιβουλεύοντα. Καὶ
πόρρωθεν ὀρύττειν ἀρξάμενοι, δι’ ὑπονόμων ἔνδον γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως 20
ἔτεχνάζοντο. Ὡς δὲ ἦσαν οἷον ὑφυδροὶ κολυμβηταὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς ὑπὸ
γῆν, ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας καταφανῆς τοῖς ἔνδον γέγονεν ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ· συν-
έβη κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος ἔνδον τοῦ τείχους χαλκᾶ οἰκεῖν, οὗ τὰ κατὰ
τὴν οἰκίαν αἰωρούμενα σκεύη χαλκᾶ ἦχον ἀπετέλει, τῶν Περσῶν ὑπὸ γῆν
κοπτόντων καὶ ἐκφορούντων τὸν χοῦν. Ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ οὖν καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ 25
ἀπογνώσει οἱ τῆς πόλεως καταστάντες πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καταφεύγουσι καὶ

1 πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως om. Di2 | ἱερέως] ἀρχιερέως Iv 2 ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς] ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς Va | Εὐρώτος Q, ἐβρώτος V 3 τοῦ τιτάνου] τῆς τιτάνου ML1 5 18 (πόλιν) desunt Mi2 5 ὁ om. Va | πολὺς] add. ἔτι· ἐπέκεινα τῶν πεντακοσίων V ML3 Iv Mi3 6 ἀπερρῦει P2¹ 7 τῶν om. Pa 8 ἔφθασεν V Mi1 9 ἐκίνει B 10 ὄργανον om. Pa | ἐξηρτύετο Me 11 12 οἱ Ἀδεσσηνοὶ Di2 12 γεγονότες] οἱ γεγονότες X | καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ δυνατὰ Di1 Mi1 | πρὸς] add. τὴν B Di2 ML1 ML2 12 13 ἀνπαράταξιν A 13 δὲ περὶ βοηθείας om. Pa | περὶ om. Di2 13 14 στρατηγούς] βασιλεῖς τε καὶ στρατηγούς X ML2 ML3 Mi3, βασιλῆς τε καὶ στρατηγούς Iv 15 πονούμενος] ἡγούμενος Pa | συμμαχίαν] add. μὲν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa 16 παρεθάρρυνε] διεθάρρυνε Di1, παρεθάρρυνεν Es Me 16 17 ἀναμνήσκων P2 17 ἀψευδοῦς om. Va | ἐν αὐτῇ] αὐτοῦ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 17 18 ἀπόρθητον P2 19 ἐπιθέσεως] ἀποφάσεως B Me | ἐπιβουλεύματα Di2 21 ὑφυδροὶ X ML3 Va 22 23 γέγονεν ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ συνέβη κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος ἔνδον τοῦ τείχους om. Di2 22 ἐπιβουλία Pr 22 23 συνέβη] add. γὰρ X Mi3 23 χαλκᾶ] add. τινὰ X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 | τὰ om. Pr 25 καὶ ἐκφορούντων om. Pr Va 26 καταφεύγουσιν Pr

level. As the image Abgar's grandson desired was no longer anywhere to be seen the impious man gave up his plan. I would think that the priest gave orders to put a tile in front of the image so that no decay from the building's mould and no damp from the gypsum could make
 5 the cloth with the icon on it deteriorate and suffer the damage done by time.

After a long time had elapsed, people forgot all about how the holy
 image had been set up and how it had been hidden. And so when
 Khusro, the king of the Persians, was in his time conquering the cities
 10 of Asia, he came to Edessa, set up an armed camp, brought up every
 kind of machinery and got everything ready for taking the city. He
 planned everything for casting missiles, shaking walls and smashing
 gates. Finding themselves in such danger, the people of Edessa thought
 of everything they could do against this hostile demonstration, and
 15 sent for help to the Roman generals. The commander in chief of the
 Roman army at the time was Ilion. He was being attacked by the
 enemy too and so was not able to send aid to those in Edessa. He
 tried to encourage them in writing, reminding them of the Lord's letter
 and the unfailing promise it contained, because of which it was said
 20 and believed that the city would be saved from being sacked. Along
 with the direct attack, the Persians were also planning a few surprises.
 They started to dig at a distance and contrived to get inside the city
 through underground passages. When they were inside the walls, like
 underwater swimmers under the ground, their plot was revealed to
 25 those inside the walls in the following way. A bronzesmith lived at that
 particular point within the walls, and the bronze utensils hanging up in
 his house all made a noise when the Persians were digging and taking
 the earth out. The city's inhabitants were at a loss and had absolutely
 no idea what to do and thus made recourse to God, seeking him with

μετ' ὁδύνης καρδίας καὶ δακρύων ἐξεξήτουν αὐτόν. Φαίνεται τοίνυν διὰ
 νυκτὸς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Εὐλάλιος δὲ οὗτος ἦν, γυνὴ τις εὐσταλὴς καὶ κοσμία
 κρείττον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ὑποτιθεμένη αὐτῷ τὴν ἀχειροποιήτον εἰκόνα
 λαβεῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ λιτανεῖαν μετ' αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πάντως
 δεῖξαι τὸν Κύριον τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος παντελῶς ἀγνοεῖν 5
 ἔλεγεν εἰ ἔστιν ὅλως εἴτε παρ' αὐτοῖς εἴτε παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοιαύτη
 εἰκὼν. Τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ἢ ἐν γυναικείῳ φαινομένη τῷ σχήματι, ὅτι
 ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ διὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἢ
 τοιαύτη εἰκὼν ἀποκέκρυπται.

- 17 Ἐωθεν οὖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῷ ἐναργεῖ τῆς ὄψεως πεπονητός, μετα λιτῆς πρὸς 10
 τὸν τόπον ἐλθὼν καὶ διερευνησάμενος εὔρε τὴν θείαν ταύτην εἰκόνα ἀδι-
 αλώβητον καὶ τὴν θρυαλλίδα ἐν τοῖς τοσοῦτοις μὴ ἀποσβεσθεῖσαν ἔτεσι
 καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπιτεθέντι πρὸ τοῦ λύχνου κεράμῳ ἐπεκτυπωθὲν
 ἕτερον ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ὁμοιώματος, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν Ἐδέσῃ τυγχά-
 νει σωζόμενον. Λαβὼν οὖν μετὰ χειρὸς τὸ θεῖον τοῦτο τοῦ θεανθρώπου 15
 Χριστοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ ἐπὶ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος γενόμενος ἔρχεται κατ'
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, καθ' ὃν οἱ Πέρσαι διορύττοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χαλκω-
 μάτων ἤχου κατάφωροι καθεστήκεσαν. Καὶ ἄρξαμένων ἔνδοθεν ὀρύττειν
 τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, ἀπὸ τῆς λυχνίας ἐκείνης
 ἔλαιον ἐπιστάξαντες εἰς τὸ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς εὐτρεπισμένον πῦρ 20
 καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπονόμῳ Περσῶν ἀφέντες, πάντας ἀπώλεσαν. Καὶ τῆς
 ἐντεῦθεν ῥυσθέντες ἐπιβουλῆς, πρὸς τὰς ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους μηχανὰς τὴν

1 ἐξήτουν V X Pa Mi3 4 μετ' αὐτῆς] μετὰ ταύτης V X Pa | καὶ om. Di2 Pa 5 τὰ
 θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ] καὶ νῦν τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰεὶ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 |
 ἐπίσκοπος] add. Εὐλάλιος V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | ἀγνοεῖν om. B Me 6 τοιαύτη
 om. ML2 ML3 Iv Pa 7 εἰκὼν] ἀγία καὶ σεβασμία εἰκὼν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa
 Mi3 | γυναικείῳ] γυναικίῳ A B Pa | ὅτι om. B Me 8 τῆς πόλεως om. Pr Va |
 τῷδε om. Pr 9 ἀποκέκρυπται] κέκρυπτε B, ἀποκέκρυπτε Me 10 οὖν] δὲ B |
 ὁ om. Va | ἐπίσκοπος] add. τὴν πάσαν Mi2² 11 εὔρεν V 11 12 ἀδιαλώβητον] add.
 καὶ κεχαρμένην V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 12 θρυαλλίδα] θρυλίδα C, θρυαλλίδα ὦ
 τοῦ θαύματος V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | τοσοῦτοις] add. χρόνοις Pa | ἀποσβεσθῆσαν
 U Pa² | ἔτεσι] ἔτεσιν A B Q U Pr ML1 Es Me Mi2 P1 P2, om. Pa, χρόνοις V
 13 κεράμῳ πρὸ τοῦ λύχνου I | ἐκτυπωθὲν V X ML2 Iv Pa Mi2 14 ὁμοίωμα τοῦ
 ὁμοιώματος] ὁμοίωμα τοῦ πρώτου ὁμοιώματος ἀπαράλλακτον V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa
 Mi3 (ἀπαράλληλκτον X) 15 οὖν μετὰ χειρὸς] οὖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐλάλιος μετὰ χαρᾶς
 V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | μετὰ] κατὰ ML2 ML3 Iv Pa | χειρὸς] χαρᾶς Mi2
 16 Χριστοῦ] λόγου Mi3 18 κατάφωροι] κατάφοροι A¹ C Di2 Pa Mi1, καὶ τάφοροι
 V, κατάφοροι B | καθεστήκαι B X ML2 ML3 Pa Me Mi3 19 τῶν] τὸν B | ἐγένοντο
 ἀλλήλων Iv 20 ἐπιστάξαντες] ἐπιστάξας ML2 Iv | αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς Pa 21 τῷ om. I |
 πάντες Pa | ἀπώλεσαν] add. ἄρδην V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 22 τὰς] τὰ Di1 Di2
 ML2 ML3 Iv Es | μηχανὰς] χιχανὰς Q

broken hearts and tears. At night the bishop Eulalius had a vision of a well-dressed and adorned woman, better looking than any human being, telling him to get the image of Christ that had not been made by human hands and parade it in a procession, and the Lord would
 5 certainly demonstrate his wonders. The bishop answered that he did not even know if the image existed, and if it did whether it was there or anywhere else. The one who had appeared to him in the form of a woman told him that it was hidden away above the city gate in such and such a place, and in such and such a way.

10 The bishop was encouraged by the clarity of the vision and went to the place in solemn procession. He searched and found the sacred image 17
 unharmed, and the lamp that had not gone out after so many years. Another likeness of the first likeness had been formed on the tile that had been placed in front of the lamp for protection, and it is still kept
 15 in Edessa even today. He took the divine representation of the divine and human Christ in his hands, and his hopes grew as he made his way towards the place where the Persians had been betrayed by the noise of the bronze utensils. The city's inhabitants started to dig there, and as they drew near each other they dribbled oil from the lamp onto
 20 the fire that they had made ready against their enemies. Throwing it at the Persians who were in the tunnel, they killed them all. And saved from this attack, they decided to try the same trick against the machines

ὁμοίαν πείραν προήνεγκαν καὶ ταύτας ἀθρόως κατέφλεξαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς πολεμίων ἀνάλωσαν. Ἦδη δὲ ἀνατεταροηκότες καὶ λίθων ἀφέσεις συχνῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπεποίηντο, ὅφ' ὧν καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην τοῦ πολεμίου στρατεύματος συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀναφθεῖσαν 5 κατὰ τῶν ἔνδον πυρᾶν, ἣν ἄπειρος ὕλη ἑλαίων τε καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν κατακοπέντων δένδρων ὑπέτρεφε, κατ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἢ τῆς συμμάχου θείας εἰκόνας πεποίηκε δύναμις· ὥς γὰρ ἄνωθεν ὁ Εὐλάλιος τοῦ τείχους ταῖς οἰκείαις ἐφαπλώσας ταύτην παλάμαις τὴν πόλιν διώδευεν, ἐξαίφνης, ὥς κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἐγένετο, βίαιος ἄνεμος ἐγεγρθεῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀναφλεγόντων τὴν τοιαύτην πυρκαϊάν τὴν φλόγα ἐπέστρεψε καὶ ἐδίωκε τούτους 10 καὶ ἐνεπύριζεν, ὥς τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὸ πρῖν.

- 18 Ταῦτα οὐκ ἀμάρτυρός ἐστι λόγος, εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀκοῆς ἢ ἀπάτην παρ' ἡμῶν συμπλασθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ὁμοῦ πατριάρχαι, Ἰῶβ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Χριστοφόρος Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Βασίλειος Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέγραψαν καὶ οὕτως ἔχουν 15 ταῦτα ἐγνώρισαν Θεοφίλῳ γράφοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας ἐξυβρικοῦ ὅτε διὰ πολλῶν ἀποδεικνύντες τὸ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων ἱερὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον καὶ περὶ τούτου διέλαβον. Καὶ ἔξεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ τὴν πολυστιχὸν ἐκείνην ἐπιστολὴν ἀναλέξασθαι καὶ περὶ τούτου μαθεῖν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Εὐαγγελίου ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ εἴ τις φιλοπόνως ἐνέτυχεν, ἔγνω πάντως 20 οἷα περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης εἰκόνας κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον λόγον φησί.

1 προσήνεγκαν B V X ML₃ Mi₃ | ταύτας] πάντας ML₁ | ἀθρόως] ἀθρόας C Mi₁
2 ἀνάλωσαν] ἀνήλωσαν Pa 3 ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν om. Me | τειχῶν] τοιχῶν B 3 4
στρατοπαιδάρχην Pa 4 πολεμίου] /////μίου Q, μαροῦ Di₂ 5 δέ] add. τούτους
V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃ 6 ἦν] ἢ X ML₂ ML₃ | ἄπειρος] ἄπειλος ML₂ |
ἄλλων] τῶν ἄλλων V 6 7 κατακοπέντων] καταπεσόντων A C I Q U Di₁ Di₂ Es
Mi₁ P₂ 7 ὑπέτρεφεν Mi₂ 8 πεποίηκε δύναμις om. Q U | ὁ om. Di₂ Iv Pa
8 9 ταῖς οἰκείαις τοῦ τείχους A B C D E F G H I K Q R S T U W Y Pr Di₁
Di₂ ML₁ Va Es Me Mi₁ P₁ P₂ 9 διώδευεν V, διώδευσε Di₁, διώδευε Mi₁ Mi₃
10 τοῦτον om. Di₂ | ἐξεγερθεῖς Di₂ ML₁ | κατὰ] καὶ B Me 10 11 φλεγόντων
X Mi₃ 11 ἐπέστρεψεν Mi₂ 13 ἐστι] ἐστιν V, ἐστιν ὁ Pa | εἰς] ἢ εἰς Mi₃ |
ἀπάτην] ἀγάτην Pa | παρ' ἡμῶν] παρ' ἢ Pa 14 συμπλασθεῖς] συμπλακεῖς X ML₂
Mi₃, συμπαθεῖς Di₁ 15 Βασίλειος] add. ὁ Es 16 τῷ om. Pr Va | εἰς om. A B C I
Q U Pr Di₁ Di₂ Es Me Mi₁ 17 ἀποδεικνύντες] ἀποδεικνύντες C, ἀποδεικνύοντες Q
Di₁ Di₂, ἀποδείξεων V X, ἀποδείξεων ἀποδεικνύοντες ML₃ Pa Mi₃ 19 τούτων V X
Pr ML₁ ML₂ Iv Pa Va Mi₃ P₁ 20 τῇ Εὐαγγελίου ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ] τὴν Εὐαγγελίου
ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν Di₂ | ἐνέτυχεν ἔγνω] ἀνέγνω οἶδε Di₂ 21 εἰκόνας ταύτης Mi₃
| φησί V I Pr Di₂ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Va Me Mi₂ Mi₃

outside the walls they burnt them all easily and killed many of the enemy who were in them. They took heart and launched stones from the wall, and as a result the commander of the enemy army fell and many others with him. This was not all. The Persians had lit a fire
 5 outside the walls to use against those inside, fed by numerous olive and other trees they had cut down. The power of the sacred image fighting with the defenders turned the fire back onto them. For as Eulalius was going round the city on top of the walls, holding the image outstretched in his hands, when he arrived at that spot a strong wind suddenly blew
 10 up and turned the flames back on those who were lighting the fire. It pursued them and burnt them up, just as happened to the Chaldeans in the past.

This story does not lack witnesses we did not invent it to entertain or
 18 deceive people. Three patriarchs together Job of Alexandria, Christopher of Antioch and Basil of Jerusalem wrote about it and stated
 15 that it happened so in a letter to the emperor Theophilus, who treated sacred images with violence. They were explaining that sacred images are holy and worthy of respect, and told this story as well. And it is possible for anyone who so wishes to read their long letter and learn
 20 all about it. If anyone has carefully examined Evagrius' history of the church he will know what it says about this sacred image in the fourth book.

- 19 Ἀναγράφει γὰρ ὡς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ Χοσρόης καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκε θέ-
λων περιφανῶς ἐλέγξει ψευδῇ τὸν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς θρυλούμενον περὶ
τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως λόγον, ὡς εἴη ἀπόρρητος. Ξύλων γάρ τι μέγα χρῆμα
καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐν βραχεὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος πολυχειρίᾳ συναθροί-
σας ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ δύο τοίχους πηξάμενος κύκλῳ τῆς 5
πόλεως, εἴτα χοῦν κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἐπεμβάλων καὶ ἀντιμέτωπον ἄλλο τει-
χος οἰκοδομῶν, ὑψηλότερος ἐγίνετο τῶν τῆς Ἑδέσης τειχῶν καὶ ὡς ἐξ
ὑπερδεξίων τὰ βέλη κατὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως προκινδυνευόντων ὅσον
οὐπὼ ἀφίεσθαι ἔμελλεν. Ὅπερ οἱ Ἑδεσηνοὶ ὥσπερ ὄρος ἀντικρὺ τῶν τει-
χῶν ὀρῶντες ἐξεγειρόμενον, δι' οὗ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοπέδου τοὺς πολεμίους 10
ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ ἄστεος ἤλπιζον, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καίπερ ὄντες, ἀντιμηχανώμενοι
δὲ ὅμως τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ αὐτοί, διώρυγα ἐπεχειροῦν πρὸ τοῦ νεοσυστάτου
ἐκείνου τείχους ὀρύξασθαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ δυνηθεῖεν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ χώματος ὑφά-
ψαι σταυρώματα πρὸς τὴν διώρυγα τὸν χοῦν ὑποσπάσωνται καὶ οὕτως τὸ
μέγα τεῖχος ἐκείνο, οἷον ἐξ ὀνείρου ἀναπλασθέν, θάττον κατενεχθῇ καὶ 15
διαρρῦνῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄρυγμα διήνυστο, πῦρ δὲ τοῖς ξύλοις ἐνιέντες τοῦ
σκοποῦ διημάρτανον, μὴ δυναμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διὰ τὸ συμπεπλημένον ἔν-
δον εἶναι τὸν χοῦν καὶ τὰ ξύλα ἔτι χλωρὰ κενοῦ τινος δίχα τῆς ὕλης ἐμπε-
ριδράξασθαι, τὴν ἱεράν ταύτην εἰκόνα εἰς τὴν νεότευκτον ἐκείνην τάφρον
εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ ταύτης καθαγιάσαντες καὶ τοῦτο τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ 20
τοῖς ξύλοις προσεπιρράναντες, ἐνεργὸν γενέσθαι τὸ πῦρ κατεπράξαντο.
Καὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν δεδρακότων τῆς θείας συνεπιλαβομένης δυνάμεως, ὡς
ἔλαιον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγένετο τῷ πυρὶ καὶ ἐξῆψε τὴν φλόγα καὶ κατανόησεν
ἅπαν τὸ προστυχόν. Τότε οὖν ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς
πόλεως ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν ὄθεν ἔσχον μαθὼν πρὸς συμβιβάσεις 25
ἐχώρησε καὶ σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς ποιησάμενος, πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀνθυπενό-
στησεν.

1 Ἀναγράφει] Ἀναγράφει C Di1 | ὁ Χοσρόης] add. κακῶν θέλων γὰρ ὁ ἀλάστωρ V
X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va 1 2 κακῶν καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκε θέλων γὰρ ὁ ἀλάστωρ
Mi3 3 γὰρ om. V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 | μέγα τι Pr Di1 ML1 ML2
ML3 Pa Va Mi2 Mi3 P1 5 τοίχους] τείχους Di2 ML1 ML3 Iv Pa Va, στοιχοῦς
Mi2 6 τὸ om. ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 7 ἐγένετο I ML2 ML3 Iv Pa | ἐξ om.
ML3 8 ὑπὲρ om. Pr Va 10 ἐγειρόμενον X 11 ἀντιμαχόμενοι X ML2 ML3 Iv
12 διώρυγμα I Q X Di1 ML2 | νεοστάτου A B C Di2 14 ὑποσπάσαντα B Me |
οὕτω ML3 Pa 15 κατενεχθῆναι A, κατενεχθεῖ X 16 μὲν om. Pa | ὄρυγμα] add.
τούτοις Mi2 | ἀνιέντες I Di2 17 συνεπιλημένον A, συμπεπλημένον X ML2 ML3,
συμπεπλεγμένον Pa 18 κενοῦ] κοινοῦ A¹ | δίχα] ἔθεν Pr Va 19 νεότακτον B
21 προσεπιρράναντες] κατέπιρράναντες Pa 22 ἐπιλαβομένης Pa 23 κατηνόησεν
Pa 24 Περσῶν] Περσῶ Q¹, Περσῶν Q² 25 ὄθεν] ἦν B Me | συμβιβάσεις P1
26 ἐχώρησεν Mi2 | ποιησάμενος] ποιούμενος Mi2

He writes that Khusro did this and other things, openly desiring to 19
 prove that what the Christians kept repeating about the city was false,
 namely that it was unconquerable. With the vast number of hands
 available in his army, he ordered a large amount of wood, or rather an
 5 in nite amount, to be gathered together in a short time. He stuck them
 in the ground in a double wall around the city and lled in the space
 in the middle with earth, thus building a counter-wall that was higher
 than the walls of Edessa, and planned to cast missiles at those who were
 risking their lives more than ever in the city's defence. Seeing this going
 10 up opposite their walls like a mountain, from which the enemy hoped
 to assault the city as if on level ground, the people of Edessa did not
 know what to do. However, doing their best, they started to dig a ditch
 in front of that newly constructed rampart in an attempt to set re to
 the palisade in front of the earth, so as to make the earth collapse into
 15 the ditch. Thus the great wall, which had been created as if in a dream,
 would immediately fall down and be destroyed. They managed to dig
 the ditch, but failed to carry out their plan of setting re to the wood.
 The wood would not catch re for lack of ventilation space as earth
 was piled up inside the palisade and the wood itself was still green. And
 20 so they took the holy image into the recently dug ditch, blessed some
 water with it and sprinkled it onto the re and the wood, thus making
 the re catch. Through the faith of those who were doing this, with
 the help of the divine power, the water became like oil to the re and
 ignited the ame and burned everything it touched. The king of the
 25 Persians then despaired of taking the city. Finding out where their help
 was coming from, he reached an agreement, made peace offerings, and
 returned home.

20 Ἐμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ οὗτος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εὐεργεσίας τυχεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεῤῥας ταύτης εἰκόνας, τῆς τῶν πολέμιων αὐτοῦ εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναιρέτιδος. Τὸ γὰρ τούτου θυγάτριον ὑπὸ δαμονίου πνεύματος συσχε-
 θέν καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐκστάν καταστάσεως, ἐβόα συνεχῶς δι' αὐτοῦ
 ἐνεργούμενον. Εἰ μὴ ἐξ Ἑδέσης ἢ ἀχειροποίητος ἔλθῃ εἰκὼν, ἐντεῦθεν τὸν 5
 ἔνοικον τούτου μὴ ἐξελεύσεσθαι. Ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ
 τῆς πολιορκίας ἀναλογισάμενος, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἢ παράδοξος ἐξαί-
 φνης ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ θάρσος διέλαθε τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν, γράφει παραχρῆμα
 πρὸς τε τὸν τῆς πόλεως προεξάρχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν μητροπολίτην Εὐλά-
 λιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀποσταλῆναι θάπτον αὐτῷ τὸ θείον 10
 καὶ πανσθενὲς ἀπεικόνισμα, προσθεῖς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς
 συμφορὰν καὶ παντοίως ἀξίων τε καὶ βιαζόμενος μὴ ἀποτυχεῖν τῆς αἰ-
 τήσεως. Οἱ δὲ τό τε τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἡθους ἄπιστον ὑπονοοῦντες καὶ ὑπο-
 πτεύοντες δόλῳ βούλεσθαι τὸν Πέρσην τὴν αὐτῶν ὑφελέσθαι ἰσχὺν καὶ
 μὴ προέσθαι τὴν προστάτιν καὶ εὐεργέτιδα προνοοῦμενοι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν 15
 εἰρήνην λῦσαι τῆς τοιαύτης προφάσεως ἕνεκα, βουλὴν βουλευόνται συν-
 ετὴν καὶ λυσιτελοῦσαν αὐτοῖς. Μεταγράψαντες γὰρ ἴσιν κατὰ πάντα καὶ
 ὁμοίαν ὡς ἐνῆν εἰκόνα τῆς ἀγράφου γραπτὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐμφερὲς κατὰ
 τὸ δυνατόν ἀπεικάσαντες πρὸς τὸν αἰτησάμενον ἀποστέλλουσιν. Ὡς δὲ 20
 ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς Περσίδος ὁρίων ἐγένοντο οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα διακομίζοντες, εὐ-
 θέως διὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρὸς ὁ δαίμων ἀνέκραξε θάπτον ἐξέρχε-
 σθαι καὶ διαμείβειν τὴν οἴκησιν τῆς τοῦ ἐρχομένου δυνάμεως ἕνεκα, μόνον
 εἰ τὸ μετακληθὲν ἀποστραφεῖ ὁμοίωμα καὶ μὴ τοῖς βασιλείοις μηδὲ τῇ πό-
 λει Περσῶν προσπελάσῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο πολλὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο καὶ
 καθικέτευεν. Ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξεληθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης 25
 τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ ἐν ὑγίῃ καταστάσει γεγонуίας τῆς βασιλείου παιδός, ὁ
 Χοσρόης, εἴτε τὴν τοῦ αἰτησάμενου δαίμονος ἀξίωσιν ἐκπληρῶν καὶ τὴν
 ὑπόσχεσιν ἐμπεδῶν εἴτε τὴν τοῦ ἐρχομένου δύναμιν δεδιῶς διὰ τὸ φαῦ-

1 Ἐμελλεν V¹ | τυχεῖν] μεταλαχεῖν V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₂ Mi₃ 5 εἰκὼν ἔλθῃ Pa
 | τὸν] τὸ Pr Pa 7 πολιορκίας] λυορκίας Pa | ἀναλογισά//πομενος Pa 7 8 ἰσχὺς
 ἐξαίφνης Mi₃ 8 διέλαθεν V | γράφη Q 9 ἐξάρχοντα Pr; ἐξάρχοντα Va 10 τὸ (1)]
 τὸν Mi₂ 11 ἀπεικονισμα Pr | τὴν (2) om. Pa 12 Καὶ om. V X Pa 14 βουλευέσθαι
 V X ML₂ Iv | ἑαυτῶν Di₂ 15 προιέσθαι ML₃, πορείεσθαι Pa 16 ἕνεκα βουλὴν]
 ἕνεκα καὶ βουλὴν ML₁ 17 Μετεγγράψαντες V, Μεταγγράψαντες X 18 ὡς ἐνῆν
 ὁμοίαν X ML₂ ML₃ Iv | ἀγράφου Di₂ 19 ἀποστέλλουσι ML₂, ἀποστέλουσιν Di₁
 20 ἐντὸς////ς B 21 ἀνέκραξε ὁ δαίμων Di₁, ἀνέκραξεν ὁ δαίμων Mi₁ | ἀνέκραξε
 V X ML₂ Iv Pa Va Mi₃, ἀνέκραξεν Pr Mi₂ 23 ἀποστραφεῖν] ἀποστρεφῆν Es |
 καὶ μὴ] add. δὲ ML₂ ML₃ Iv 24 προσπελάσῃ Περσῶν V X Pa Mi₂ Mi₃, προσπελάσει
 Περσῶν ML₂ ML₃ Iv | τοῦτο] τούτῳ X ML₂ Iv | τοῦ om. Pr Va 25 ἐξεληθόντος]
 καὶ ἐξεληθόντος V X ML₂ ML₃ Mi₃ 26 ὑγίῃ X, ὑγίῃ B | τοῦ βασιλείου παιδός Pa,
 τοῦ βασιλέως παιδός I Es 28 ἐμποδῶν Q Pr P₁, ἐμπαδῶν Di₁ | δεδειῶς X, δεδοιῶς
 Pa

Not much later he would himself see the benefits of the holy image, 20
 the benefactor of his enemies and the destroyer of his own people.
 His daughter was possessed by an evil spirit and in an unnatural state,
 constrained by the spirit at work in her, she would cry out that unless
 5 the image that was not made by human hands came from Edessa, the
 spirit inside her would never be cast out. When the king heard this, he
 thought about the siege, for he had not failed to notice the sudden inex-
 plicable strength and courage of the inhabitants of Edessa. He imme-
 diately wrote to the governor of the city, to bishop Eulalius and to the
 10 citizen community, requesting the divine and almighty representation
 to be sent to him as soon as possible. He explained the reason—the
 case of his daughter—and begged and urged them not to ignore his
 request. The inhabitants of Edessa, knowing the deceitful nature of the
 Persian character and suspecting the Persians of wanting to steal their
 15 strength by trickery, did not plan on letting their protector and benefac-
 tor go, yet neither did they want to break the peace just for this. They
 therefore drew up a clever plan for their own benefit. They painted an
 image as similar as possible in all details to the unpainted image, and
 sent it in accordance with the request. When the ones who were carry-
 20 ing the image came within Persian territory, the demon inside the king's
 daughter immediately cried out, saying that he would leave quickly and
 find another place to dwell because of the power of the one who was
 approaching, but only if the likeness that had been summoned turned
 back and did not come near the palace or the city of the Persians. He
 25 begged and requested this from the king with great insistence. When
 the king had given his word, the demon left the girl, and thus the girl
 was restored to health. Khusro, in order either to fulfill what the demon
 had asked for and to keep his promise or in fear of the power of the

λον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων καὶ μυσαρὸν, ἀποστείλας ὑποστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφ' ἧς ἐξῆλθε πόλιν τὴν τοιαύτην εἰκόνα ἐκέλευσε καὶ δῶρα προσθεῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ταύτην ἐκπέμψαντας.

- 21 Ἦν οὖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑδεσηνοῖς ὁ πολύτιμος ὄλβος οὗτος, ὁ ἀκένωτος
θησαυρός, ἡ εἰκὼν ἡ πρωτότυπός τε καὶ ἄγραφος, τιμωμένη αἰεὶ πρὸς αὐ- 5
τῶν καὶ ἀντιφρουρούσα αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ταύτην
τῶν πόλεων τὰ πανταχόθεν συνερρύνεκεν ἀγαθώτατά τε καὶ κάλλιστα,
ἦν δὲ ἄρα θεῖόν τε βούλημα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην εἰκόνα ἐνταῦθα μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθησαυρισθῆναι καλῶν, ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων κυριεύων ἀρχῆς
Ῥωμανὸς σπούδασμα ποιεῖται δι' ἑαυτοῦ ταύτης κατευμοιοῦν καὶ κατα- 10
πλουτῆσαι τὴν βασιλεύουσαν. Καὶ δὴ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς ἀποστεί-
λας πρὸς Ἑδεσαν ἡγεῖτο ταύτην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς αὐτογράφου τοῦ Κυρίου
ἐκπεμφθῆναι ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀντιδιδόναι καθυπισχεῖτο αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀντάλ-
λαγμα Σαρακηνοὺς τε μέχρι διπλῆς ἑκατοντάδος τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἀργύρου
ἐπισήμου χιλιάδας δύο πρὸς μυριάδι μιᾶ. Οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἑδέσης μὴ λυσιτελεῖν 15
αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον τὴν φύλακα καὶ φρουρὸν τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως ἀργυρίου καὶ
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλάξασθαι.
- 22 Ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπέκειτο καὶ αὐτῆς αἰτῶν, οἱ δὲ πολλάκις τὴν δέησιν παρε-
κρούοντο, τέλος κατὰ τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ
δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ὁ τῆς Ἑδέσης ἀπέστειλεν ἀμη- 20
ρᾶς, ἁξίῳ ἐγγράφῳ ἀσφαλείᾳ διὰ σφραγίδος χρυσοῦς ἐχούσης τὸ βέβαιον,

1 ἀποστείλας ὑποστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐξῆλθε, πόλιν] ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὴν ἀφ'
ἧς ἐξῆλθε πόλιν ὑποστρέψαι Di1 Mi1 1 2 ἀφ' ἧς] ἐξ ἧς X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3
2 ἐκέλευσεν V Pr Mi2 | προσθεῖς καὶ δῶρα V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi2 Mi3 3
ἐκπέμψαντας] ἐκπέμψας Mi3 21 23 deest P2 4 οὗτος ὄλβος B Me | ὁ ἀκένωτος] ὁ
καὶ ἀκένωτος X, καὶ ἀκένωτος ML2 Iv Mi3 5 ἡ εἰκὼν] εἰκὼν (sic) Mi2 | πρὸς] παρ'
B 7 συνερρύνεκεν] συνερρύνῃ Di2 | ἀγαθώτατα] ἀγαθότατα Q, ἀγαθὰ Di2, ἀγιώτατα
V X Pr ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 | τε (1) om. X Pr 8 δέ] τε B | ἱερὰν ταύτην εἰκόνα]
ἱερὰν εἰκόνα ταύτην Pr Va, ἱερὰν καὶ ἄχραντον ταύτην εἰκόνα καὶ ἀχειροποιήτον V X
ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 9 θησαυρισθῆναι V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa, συναθροισθῆναι Mi3 |
κυριεύων om. Mi3 10 σπούδασμα Iv | κατευμαρῆσαι Pr 12 αὐτῷ] αὐτῶν Mi2
13 ἀντιδιδόναι] add. αὐτοὺς B 13 14 τάλλαγμα Es 14 μέχρι] καὶ μέχρι Di1 |
ἀργύρου] ἀργυρίου ML2 ML3 16 τὴν φύλακα ML1 | καὶ φρουρὸν
om. Iv 16 17 καὶ θνητῶν] τε καὶ θνητῶν Pa 18 αἰτῶν] ζητῶν B Me, ἐτῶν Di1
19 κατὰ] add. τὸν χρόνον C Di1 Mi1 19 20 τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ
πεντηκοστοῦ δευτέρου] τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν τετρακοσιοστὸν πεντηκοστὸν δεύτερον Di2 Va
Es 19 τοῦ] τὴν B Me | ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ A | τετρακοσιοστοῦ om. C ML1 Mi1 P1 |
πεντηκοστοῦ om. B C Me Mi1 20 δετέρου ML2 | ἔτος Di2 Va Es Mi2 | ἔτους τῆς
τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως] τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἔτους Di2 | τοῦ om. Mi1 Mi2 21 διὰ
om. Es | χρυσοῦς σφραγίδος I | ἐχούση Mi2

one who was approaching, as his own deeds were evil and abominable, sent orders for the image to be returned to the city it had come from. He also sent personal gifts to the people who had sent it.

And so this great wealth, this inexhaustible treasure, this original and 21
5 unpainted image was in Edessa, always venerated by its people and
protecting them in return. Since all good and great things came to
the capital city from all over, it was God's will that this holy image
too should be kept here with the other good treasures. The Roman
emperor Romanus made it his own priority to possess this image and
10 enrich the queen of cities. He had already sent to Edessa on various
different occasions and asked for the image to be handed over together
with the letter written by the Lord. He promised to give them up to two
hundred Saracen prisoners and twelve thousand coins of pure silver in
return. The inhabitants of Edessa replied that it was not in their own
15 interest to exchange the guardian and protector of their city for silver
and mortal men.

The emperor kept on asking and insisting, but the people kept rejecting 22
his request. Finally, six thousand four hundred and fifty two years
after the creation of the world, the emir of Edessa sent to ask that
20 the emperor should guarantee securely in writing with a gold seal for

τὸν βασιλέα κατεγγυήσασθαι τοῦ μὴ πολεμίως ἐπέρχεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματα κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων τούτων πόλεων, φημι δὴ τοῦ Ῥοχᾶν, ὅπερ τὴν Ἑδεσαν ἢ βάρβαρος ὀνομάζει φωνή, τοῦ Χαράν, τοῦ Σαρότζι καὶ τῶν Σαμοσάτων, μηδὲ ληίζεσθαι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἢ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικοῦντας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ἀπολυθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς 5 διακοσίους ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων Σαρακηνοὺς μετὰ τῆς προϋπεσχημένης τοῦ ἀργυρίου ποσότητος καὶ ἀνταποδοῦναι αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

- 23 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφέσει τοῦ τοιούτου καλοῦ πρὸς πάντα ὑπείξας τὰ προ-
βαλλόμενα καὶ δοὺς τὰ αἰτούμενα, Ἀβράμιον τὸν θεοφιλῆ τοῦ Σαμοσάτου 10
ἐπίσκοπον ἐνταῦθα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐπιχωρίζοντα, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναλήψει
τῆς θείας εἰκόνης καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐξαπέστειλε.
Σκοπῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀποστείλας καὶ ὁ διακονούμενος μὴ κατασοφισθῇ περὶ
τὴν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγράφου καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἢ μεταγραφεῖσα τότε διὰ 15
τὴν Περσικὴν περιστασιν τούτῳ ἐπιδοθῇ, ἀμφοτέρας ταύτας μετὰ καὶ ἐτέ-
ρας τῆς ἐν τῇ τῶν Νεστοριανῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ τιμωμένης πάλαι καὶ αὐτῆς, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοτύπου μεταληφθείσης, ἐπιζητήσας, πρὸς πίστωσιν
ἔλαβεν. Αἱ καὶ αὗτις ἀνταπεδόθησαν, μόνης ἐγκρατηθείσης τῆς κυρίας
καὶ ἀληθοῦς.
- 24 Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον. Τότε δὲ στάσις παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἑδέσῃ πιστῶν διη- 20
γείρετο καὶ θόρυβος τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε συχνός, μὴ μεθιέντων ἀφαιρεθῆναι
τὰ τιμώτατα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτῶν φυλακτῆρια,

1 πολεμίους Di2 Pa 3 Ῥουχᾶν Mi2 | Χαράν] Χοράν C, Χοράν Di1 Mi1, Χαυχαράν V, Χαχαράν ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3, Χανράν Pa 4 Σαρότζι] Σαρότζη I Q Di2 Es, Σαροτζί V X ML3 Pa, Σαρότ Pr¹, Σαρότοι Pr², Σαροτζί Di1 ML1 ML2 Iv 5 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς C, αὐτῇ Di1 Mi1 6 Σαρακυνούς Pa | προϋποσχημένης V¹, προϋποσχημένης Pa 7 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ Pa Mi1 7 8 εἰκόνα] ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα V X Pa Mi3, αὐτῷ ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα ML2 ML3 Iv Va 8 ἐπιστολὴν] ιδιόγραφον ἐπιστολὴν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 9 βασιλεὺς] ἄναξ Ῥωμανός V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 9 10 ὑπείξας τὰ προβαλλόμενα καὶ δοὺς τὰ αἰτούμενα om. X | ὑπείξας τὰ προβαλλόμενα] ὑποδείξας Mi3 10 καὶ δοὺς τὰ αἰτούμενα om. Di1 ML2¹ | αἰτούμενα] αἰτήματα V Pa | τοῦ Σαμοσάτου] τοῦ Σαμοσάτων V 11 ἐνταῦθα] add. τὸ ML2 ML3 Iv | ἐκεῖνο] ἐκεῖνου V¹ Q U 12 Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ] τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Pa | ἐξαπέστειλεν Pr ML1 Es Mi1 Mi2 Pr 13 καὶ (i) om. C Mi1 14 ἢ om. C D E F G H I K Q R S T U W Y Pr Di1 Di2 ML1 Iv Es Me Mi2 Mi3 Pr P2, ἢ μετεγγραφείσα V, ἢ μεταγγραφείσα X 15 καὶ om. ML3 15 16 ἐτέρας] add. μιᾶς V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 16 ἐκκλησίας A I Q Pr Di1 Mi1 Pr 18 ἔλαβόν ML2 | Αἱ] Ἄμα καὶ ML1 | ἀνταπεδόθησαν A C Q Di1 Es, ἀντεδόθησαν X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 20 Ἀλλὰ om. Di2 | Τότε] Ὅτε ML3 | δὲ] add. πάλιν V Pa Mi2 21 κατεῖχεν Mi2 | ἀφαιρεθῆναι] ἀφεθῆναι X ML2 ML3 22 τιμώτατα] βασιμώτατα Iv¹, τίμια ὄντως καὶ σεβασμώτατα Iv² | τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης] τοῖς ἐνεγκαμένοις Pa

confirmation that the Roman armies would not attack the following four cities Rochan (this is the name of Edessa in the barbarians language), Charan, Sarotzi and Samosata nor plunder their elds or take their inhabitants prisoner. The two hundred Saracens from the
 5 same tribe would have to be handed over to him together with the promised amount of money, and then he in turn would hand over the image the emperor wanted and the letter of Christ.

The emperor in his desire for this wonderful object accepted all the
 conditions and gave them everything they had demanded. He then
 10 sent Abramios, the God-fearing bishop of Samosata, who was visiting Constantinople at the time, to get the divine image and the letter of Christ our God. Both the one who sent him on the mission and the one who went were concerned lest some kind of trick be played on them during the handing over, and the copy made for the Persian incident
 15 were given instead of the true unpainted image. To avoid any kind of ill faith, he sought out both these images and another one which was revered in the church of the Nestorians and had apparently been copied from the original some time before. These two were then given back and he kept only the genuine and true article.

20 However, this happened later. Meanwhile, a revolt arose among the
 faithful in Edessa and great unrest took hold of the city, as they did not want to let their sacred objects and their homeland s safeguard be taken 24

ἕως ὃ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀφηγούμενος τοὺς μὲν πείσας, τοὺς δὲ βιασάμενος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπειλαῖς σφαγῆς δεδιξάμενος ἐπιδιοθῆναι αὐτὴν κατεπράξατο. Βροντῶν δὲ καὶ ἀστραπῶν μεθ' ὑετοῦ λαβροτάτου κατὰ τινα τύχην ἢ πρό- νοιαν αἰφνιδίως καταρραγισῶν ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἐξέρχεσθαι τῆς Ἑδέσης τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάλιν οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἀντεχόμενοι 5 τούτων ἀνεκινούντο καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις διεβε- βαίουν μὴ κατὰ θεῖαν βούλησιν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἀγιοτάτων τούτων μετάστασιν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγοῦ, ὕψ' ὃ τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνέκειτο, ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις κρίνοντος δεῖν καὶ ἐκπλη- 10 ροῦν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἐξήκει τῆς πόλεως τὸ τιμαλφέστατον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ τὸ Χριστογράφων ἐπιστόλιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα διεκομίζετο.

25 Καὶ δὴ τὴν ὁδὸν διανύοντες οἱ ταῦτα ἐπιφερόμενοι τὸν Εὐφράτην κατέ- λαβον καὶ πάλιν θόρυβος οὐδενὸς τῶν προτέρων ἐλάττων ἐγείρεται, ὥς εἰ μὴ τι σημεῖον θεόθεν δειχθῇ, οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένηται, προῖσιντο τὰ συννεκτι- κά τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν. Δίδοται τοίνυν σημεῖον αὐτοῖς ἀπίστοις οὕσι καὶ 15 ἐκπειράζουσιν. Ἡ γὰρ ναῦς, μεθ' ἧς τὸν Εὐφράτην περαιωθῆναι αὐτοῖς προῦκειτο, ἔτι πρὸς τὰ τῆς Συρίας ὀρμιζομένη μέρη, ὥς μόνον εἰσῆλθον ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπικομίζόμενοι, ἔτι τοῦ σάλου τοὺς στασιώτας κατέχοντος, ἐξαίφνης χωρὶς ἑρετῶν, χωρὶς τοῦ 20 κυβερνῶντος ἢ ἔλκοντος, πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέραν κατῆρε γῆν, μόνῃ τῷ θεῷ κυβερνωμένη βουλήματι. Ὁ δὴ τοὺς προστυχόντας καὶ ἰδόντας ἅπαντας, θάμβους ἐπλήρωσε καὶ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ἐκόντας παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἐκπει- πιν ἔπεισεν.

26 Ἐντεῦθεν καταλαμβάνουσι τὰ Σαμόσατα οἱ τῶν φερομένων διάκονοι. Ἦσαν δὲ ὁ τῶν Σαμοσάτων καὶ τῆς Ἑδέσης ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ τούτου πρω- 25

3 τύχην] τέχνην D E F G H K R S T W Y Pr DiI Es P1 P2 4 5 τὴν εἰκόνα] τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 5 οἱ καὶ] add. θεῖον βούλημα V Pa, add. τὸ θεῖον βούλημα X ML2 ML3 Iv 7 θεῖαν βούλησιν] θεῖον βούλημα Mi2, τὸ θεῖον βούλημα Mi3 8 μετάστασιν τούτων V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 9 ἐμμένειν] ἐνμένειν A, ἐμμένειν οὖν X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 | κρίναντος DiI ML1 10 τὸ τιμαλφέστατον] τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τιμαλφέστατον V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 10 11 καὶ τὸ] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 11 ἐπιστολίδιον V | διεκομίζοντο Pa 12 Εὐφράτην] Ἐφράτην Pr 12 13 κατέλαβον] κατέλαβον ποταμόν V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3, ποταμόν κατέλαβον Va 13 ἐλάττων om. ML3 14 σημεῖον] add. λεγόντων X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 | προῖσιντο] προῖσιν τὸ B, προῖσιντο C X DiI ML3 Iv Pa, προῖσιντο Di2 16 Εὐφράτην] Ἐφράτην Pr 17 πρὸς om. X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3 19 τοῖς στασιώταις Mi2 20 κυβερνήτος B Me | ἢ ἔλκοντος om. Iv P2 | ἀντιπέραν Pa 21 ἅπαντα Pr 22 θάμβος P2 24 Ἐντεῦθεν] Ἐνταῦθα DiI Mi1 | καταλαμβάνουσιν B Pr 25 καὶ τῆς] καὶ ὁ τῆς C V X DiI ML3 Iv Mi1 Mi2 Mi3

away. In the end, the Saracen leader had it handed over by persuading some, forcing others, and frightening yet others with threats of death. When the image and the letter of Christ were about to leave Edessa, thunder, lightning and a terrible rainstorm suddenly struck, by some
 5 chance or providence. The ones who had resisted before were stirred up again and claimed that the divine will was clear from what had happened. God did not wish these most holy objects to be removed. But the leader of the Saracens, who held absolute power, judged it necessary to abide by what had been agreed and keep his promise,
 10 and so the most precious image and the letter written by Christ left the city and were brought here.

The bearers of these objects went their way and came to the Euphrates, 25 and once again there was an uprising, no smaller than the first time. They refused to give up the key to their safety no matter what happened, unless a sign came from God. And a sign was given to them in
 15 their unbelief as they tested God. The ship that was intended to ferry the bearers across the Euphrates was still moored on the Syrian side, while the rioters were still in the grip of tumult. Yet as soon as the bishops who were carrying the divine image and the letter had boarded,
 20 suddenly, with no rowers, no helmsman and no other ship to tow it, their boat set off for the land on the other side, guided only by the will of God. This filled all the onlookers who were present with fear and amazement, and convinced them to allow the departure to go ahead.

The bishops of Samosata and Edessa, who were bearing the objects, 26
 25 then came to Samosata together with the latter's senior presbyter and

τοπρεσβύτερος καὶ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων Χριστιανῶν, οἷς καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀμηνῶς ὑπηρετῆς συνῆν, ὃς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης κατονομάζετο. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τινας ἡμέρας χρονοτριβήσαντες, πολλῶν ἐκεῖσε θαυμάτων γεγονότων, εἶχοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἄπειρα θαύματα ἐτελεῖτο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰκόνης καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τυφλοὶ γὰρ ἀπροόπτως 5 ἀνέβλεπον καὶ χωλοὶ ἐδείκνυντο ἄρτιοι. Κλινῆρεις τε πολυχρόνιοι ἦλαντο καὶ οἱ ξηρὰς ἔχοντες τὰς χεῖρας ὑγινοῦντο καὶ συνελόντι φάναι, πᾶσα νόσος καὶ μαλακία ἐδραπετεύετο καὶ ἐδόξαζον ὑγιαζόμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀνύμνουν αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια.

- 27 Ἦδη οὖν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύσαντες φθάνουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς ὑπερ- 10
 αγίας Θεοτόκου μονήν, ἣ τὰ Εὐσεβίου κατονομάζεται ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀπτιμά-
 των λεγομένῳ τυγχάνουσαν θέματι. Ἐν τῷ ναῷ δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου φροντι-
 στηρίου ἀγιοπρεπῶς ἡ τὴν τερατουργὸν εἰκόνα κρύπτουσα θήκη ἐναπο-
 τίθεται καὶ πολλοὶ προσελθόντες ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς διαθέσεως ἀπὸ τῶν οἰ-
 κείων νόσων ἰάθησαν. Ἐνθα καὶ τις προσήλθεν ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐνοχλοῦ- 15
 μενος, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ τὸ πονηρὸν ἀποχρώμενον πνεῦμα, καὶ πολλὰ
 τῶν εἰς ἔπαινον ἡκόντων τῆς εἰκόνης καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκφω-
 νοῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάλαι· Οἶδαμέν σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν
 Κύριον ἔλεγον, οἱ τῆς ὁμοίας μερίδος αὐτῷ. Τέλος καὶ τάδε οἰονεῖ ἀπε-
 φοίβαζεν, Ἀπόλαβε, λέγον, ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, δόξαν καὶ χαρὰν 20
 καὶ σύ, Κωνσταντίνε Πορφυρογέννητε, τὴν βασιλείαν σου. Καὶ τούτων
 ῥηθέντων, ἰάθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀπελύθη παραχρῆμα τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος
 ἐπιθέσεως. Τούτων δὲ πολλοὶ καθεστήκασιν μάρτυρες τῶν ῥημάτων. Τοῦ
 γὰρ βασιλέως εἰς τιμὴν καὶ ὑπάντησιν τοῦ ποθομένου τοὺς πρῶτους σχε-
 δὸν τῆς ἐν τέλει βουλῆς ἀποστείλαντος καὶ τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τῆς δορυφόρου 25

2 ὁ om. P2 3 ἐπὶ] ἔτι Pr Pa | τινος Mi2 | πολλῶν] καὶ πολλῶν Va | γεγονότων] γενομένων Mi2 4 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐτελεῖτο B Me | ὑπὸ] add. τε X ML2 ML3 Va 6 καὶ om. ML2 Mi3 | ἦλαντο] ἦλαντο A, εἶλαντο B, ἦλλοντο V X Iv Va, ἦλλοντο Pa Mi3, ἦλλοντο ML3 7 οἱ om. Es | συνελόντα Di1 ML1 ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi1 Mi3 P2 7 8 πᾶσα μαλακία Mi2 P2 8 ὑγινοῦντο Pa, οἱ ὑγιαζόμενοι I Pr Di2 Es Me Mi1 9 τὰ θεῖα θαυμάσια P2 10 διανύσαν Es | καὶ om. Di2 12 θεάματι Mi3 13 τερατουργὸν εἰκόνα] τερατουργὸν εἰ A2 16 ἀποχρώμενον om. P2 17 ἡκόντων] ἡκόντων Q, ἡκόντων Di2 18 ἐπεὶ] ἐτεῖ Me | καὶ om. ML3 | πάλαι] οἱ πάλαι ML2 Iv | εἶ] εἰς Pa | ὁ om. Pa 19 μερίδος αὐτῷ] μερίδος αὐτῶν Pa, μερίδος αὐτοῦ Mi1 19 20 ἀπεφοίβαζεν] ἀπεφοίβασεν V X Pa Mi3 20 ἡ om. A B C Pr Di1 ML1 ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Me Mi1 P1 21 22 τούτων ῥηθέντων] τούτου ῥηθέντος ML2 ML3 23 καθεστήκασιν V | μάρτυρες om. B Me | τῶν ῥημάτων om. Pr Va | ῥημάτων] add. αὐτήκοι B 24 βασιλέως] add. Ῥωμανοῦ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 | ὑπάντησιν] ἀπάντησιν Pa 25 ἀποστείλαντος] ἀποστείλατος Q¹, add. πρὸ γε τούτων τὸν παρακοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ V X, add. πρὸ γε τούτων θεοφάνην τὸν παρακοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va Mi3 (πρὸ γε] πρὸς Iv)

various other pious Christians, among them the emir's servant who was named after Rome. They stayed there for a few days; many miracles took place and they went on their way. The holy image and the letter of Christ worked many further extraordinary miracles along the way.
 5 Blind people unexpectedly recovered their sight, and the lame were seen to be healthy. People who had been ill in bed for a long time jumped up, and those with withered hands were healed. In short, every illness and disease was cured, and the ones who had been cured praised God and sang his wonders.

- 10 When they were nearing the end of their journey they came to the 27
 monastery of the most holy Mother of God, which is called *ta Eusebiou*,
 in the so-called theme of the Optimatoi. The casket that contained
 the miracle-working image was reverently placed in the church of the
 15 monastery, and many people coming forward with pure intention were
 cured of their illnesses. One who came in was possessed by a demon,
 and was used as an instrument by the evil spirit to proclaim the praises
 of the image and the letter just as in the past another of his kind had
 said to the Lord, 'We know who you are, the Holy One of Israel'.
 Finally the spirit uttered the following words, 'Receive your glory and
 20 joy, Constantinople, and you, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, your king-
 dom'. The man was cured on saying this and was freed immediately
 from the aggression of the demon. There are many witnesses to these
 words – the emperor had sent the leaders of his council to honour and
 greet the desired object, and many bodyguards had come too, and it so

τάξεως συνεξελθόντων πολλῶν, συνέβη μαγίστρους καὶ πατρικίους μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑποβεβηκυῶν τάξεων εἶναι τοὺς ἀκουστάς τε καὶ μάρτυρας. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα τὴν ἔκβασιν θᾶπτον ἐδέξαντο, ἀπορῆσαι ἄξιον πόθεν ἢ πρόγνωσις τῷ δαίμονι προσεγένετο. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν πιστεύονται ταύτην οἰκοθεν, τῆς θείας δόξης ἀπολισθήσαντες καὶ σκότος ἀντὶ φωτὸς χρηματί- 5
σαντες. Ἡ δὴλον, ὅτι καθάπερ τῷ Βαλαάμ ἡ θεία δύναμις ἐχρήτο διακό- νῳ τοῦ τότε προαγορεύματος καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις οὐκ ἄξιους πολλάκις τοῦ πράγματος, κατ' οἰκονομίαν πάντως τινὰ σοφὴν καὶ εὐμήχανον, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἡ ἐν τῷ θείῳ ἀπεικονίσματι δύναμις τῷ δαίμονι ἀπεχρήσατο καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκβησομένα προεδήλωσεν. Ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὕτως 10
συμβάντος μεταξὺ μνησθῆναι ἴσως οὐκ ἄκαιρον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τῆς διηγήσεως βαδιούμεθα.

27 *secundum Mi2*

Ἦδη οὖν διανυσάντων αὐτῶν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὁ πιστὸς ὄντως καὶ θεο- φιλὴς καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῆσαι καὶ διὰ τῆς 15
προαπαντήης τὸ θεῖον βουλόμενος ἀφ' ὁμοίωμα στέλλει Θεοφάνην πατρί- κιον καὶ παρακοιμώμενον, ὃς τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἤδη διοικῶν καὶ δόξης εἵ- περ τις τετυχηκῶς τῷ ἀπατηλῷ τῆς δόξης οὐκ ἠπατάτω περὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐχρήτο ταλαιπωρίᾳ τὸ γὰρ δόξης ἔχειν θεό- 20
θεν ἐπίστευε. Θεοῦ δὲ δωρῷ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀπηύχετο καταχρησασθαι ὅθεν ὑπερβαλλούσης τιμῆς διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἐξαπάντης ἀπήλανε, μάλιστα δὲ ἀφ' οὗ φοβοῦ μεγάλου καὶ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου τῆς πολυ ἀνθρώ- που λέγω καὶ μυριάνδρου ἐφόδου τῶν Ρῶς Βυζαντίοις ἐκκρεμασθέντος παραδόξαν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλησίον ἀπληνη- 25
κῶς πυρὸς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ξίφους παραβάλωμα θεῖς τὴν πόλιν διέσωσε. Τούτον τοίνυν ὁ πιστὸς καὶ θειότατος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θείου μορφώματος ἀπαντῇ ἐξαπέστειλεν ᾧ καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σχεδὸν πάντες τῆς ἐν 30
τέλει ἐπηκολούθουν βουλῆς τοῦτο μὲν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς θείας καὶ σεβαστῆς ἐκτυπώσεως· τοῦτο δὲ πόθῳ τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐχόμενοι καὶ στοργῇ ἀπολιμπά- νεσθαι τούτου πανταχοῦ μὴ βουλόμενοι · ὁ δὲ ἅμα τῶν ἐκ τῆς δορυφόρου 30

2 ἐκ τῶν om. Q U Di2 ML2 Me | τοὺς τοὺς Mi3 3 Καὶ om. B Me | ἐδέξατο Mi3 4 ταύτην πιστεύονται V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 | πιστεύονται] πιστεύον B Me 7 προαγορεύματος] προαγορεύοντος Pa | ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις οὐκ ἄξιους] ἄλλοις ἄλλοτε ἀνάξιους Pa 9 10 δι' αὐτοῦ] διὰ τοῦτο Pr ML1 ML3 Iv Va Es Me Mi2 P1 P2, δι' αὐτοὺς Di2, διὰ τούτου B² 10 οὕτω C I 11 μεταξὺ om. Pa | ἴσως om. Mi3 | ἐχόμενα] ἐχόμεν Q¹ 12 βαδιούμενα B, βαδιούμεν Me 16 βουλόμενος Mi2 18 πετερῷ Mi2

happened that some magistrates and patricians as well as people from the lower ranks saw and heard it. Given that what was said soon came to pass, it is fitting to wonder where the demon got his foreknowledge from. Those who have slipped away from divine glory and gone over
 5 to darkness instead of light are not believed to be able to prophesy naturally. It is clear that just as the divine power once used Balaam as a servant to prophesy, and other often unworthy people on other occasions according to some wise and well contrived dispensation, so on the present occasion too the power in the divine representation used
 10 the demon, which is why it foretold the events that were soon to take place. It is not out of place to recall this as it turned out so, but let us now go back to the story in order.

27 according to Mi2

They had already covered the major part of the journey and the truly
 15 faithful emperor Romanus, loved by God, wishing to splendidly honour the likeness with a reception far from Constantinople appointed Theophanes the patrician and chamberlain, who was already in charge of public administration. Though endowed with glory as much as anyone, he was not tricked by the deceitful wing of glory, and did not abuse
 20 his power to the misery of others, believing that his glory was given by God. He did not wish to use a gift from God against his enemies, and so enjoyed the great honour of receiving the image, especially since the time when on account of the great fear and expected danger I mean the invasion of the myriad hoards of Russians he set up a barrier of
 25 re, sea and sword with some ships on the Euxine near Hieron and thus saved the city.¹ The faithful and God-fearing emperor Romanus thus sent him to receive the divine likeness, and almost all the leading men of the Senate followed him in their great desire to see the divine and sacred image, both because of their love for him and because of
 30 their wish not to be found wanting in their respect for him at any

¹ For the story of Theophanes, only recorded here in all the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* manuscripts, cf. Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* (New York 1966), 250-2-51.

τάξεως συνελθόντων μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων καταλαμβάνουσιν ὁμοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας ὃψὲ τὴν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου μονὴν ἥπερ τὰ Εὐσεβίου ὠνόμασαι ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων τυγχάνουσιν θέματι. Τῆς δὲ ἁγίας εἰκόνος φθασάσης ἐν μονῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἢ τοῦ Ἀνδρείου κατονομάζεται ἅμα πρῶτῃ τῇ ἐπαύριον πεζοὶ τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενοι ἅπαντες 5 μετὰ γε πλείστων κηρῶν ὑπαλημμένων χρυσῷ καὶ δοξολογίας ἀπήντησαν καὶ αὐθις τὴν προπομπὴν τῷ σεβασμίῳ ποιούμενοι εἰκονίσματι · ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ τὰ Εὐσεβίου μονὴ ὑπεστράφησαν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ τοῦ τοιούτου φροντιστηρίου ἁγιοπρεπῶς ἢ τὴν τερατουργὸν κρύπτουσα θήκη ἐναποτίθεται καὶ ταύτην ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν τῆς θήκης μετὰ δεούσης δοξολογίας 10 θεασάμενοι προσεκύνησαν καὶ πολλοὶ προσελθόντες ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς διαθέσεως ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἰάθησαν. Ἐνθα καὶ τις προσῆλθεν ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐνοχλούμενος, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ τὸ πονηρὸν ἀποχρώμενον πνεῦμα, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς ἔπαινον ἡκόντων τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκφωνοῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάλοι· Οἶδαμέν σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος 15 τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἔλεγον, οἱ τῆς ὁμοίας μερίδος αὐτῷ. Τέλος καὶ τάδε οἶονε ἀπεφοίβασεν, Ἀπόλαβε, λέγον, Κωνσταντινούπολις, δόξαν καὶ χαρὰν μεγάλην καὶ σύ, Κωνσταντίνε Πορφυρογέννητε, τὴν βασιλείαν σου καὶ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἰάθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος παραχρῆμα τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπιθέσεως καὶ τούτων ἀκουσάτι τέ καὶ μάρτυρες οἱ προ- 20 ειρημένοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ὅσοι παρετύχον ἅπαντες. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα τὴν ἔκβασιν θάπτον ἐδέξαντο, ἀπορῆσαι ἄξιον πόθεν ἢ προγόνοισι τῷ δαίμονι προσεγένετο. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ταύτην πιστεύονται οἰκοθεν, τῆς θείας δόξης ἀπολισθήσαντες καὶ σκότος ἀντὶ φωτὸς χρηματίσαντες. Ἦ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅτι καθάπερ τῷ Βαλαάμ ἡ θεία δύναμις ἐχρήτο διακόνῳ τοῦ 25 τότε προαγορεύματος καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις οὐκ ἀξίοις πολλάκις τοῦ πράγματος, κατ' οἰκονομίαν πάντως τινὰ σοφὴν καὶ εὐμήχανον, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἢ ἐν τῷ θείῳ ἀπεικονίσματι δύναμις τῷ δαίμονι ἀπεχρήσατο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκβησομένα προεδήλωσεν. Ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὕτως συμβάντος μεταξὺ μνησθῆναι ἴσως οὐκ ἄκαιρον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τῆς διηγήσεως 30 βαδιούμεθα.

- 28 Τῇ πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς συνήθως τῶν βασιλέων τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς Ἀειπαρθένου καὶ Θεομήτορος ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ταύτης κατὰ Βλαχέρνας ναῷ, περὶ δειλῆς ὀψίας κατέλαβον

32 πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ] πεντεκαδεκάτῃ V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Mi₃, πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ δεκατοῦ Mi₂ 34 κατὰ Βλαχέρνας om. B Me | κατὰ Βλαχέρνας] κατὰ Βλαχέρνας Q V² Di₁, τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρνας Di₂ | δειλῆς ὀψίας] δειλὴν ὀψίαν B C I Di₁ Di₂ ML₂ ML₃ Iv Pa Va Es Mi₁ Mi₂ Mi₃, δειλὴν ὀψίαν V, δειλὴν ὀψίαν X, δειλῆς ὀψίαν A Q P₂

time. Theophanes, with his entourage and those of inferior rank, late in the day reached the monastery of the most holy Mother of God, which is called *ta Eusebiou* in the theme called after the Optimatoi, the sacred image having arrived in another monastery, known by the name of Andreios. Early the next morning they all went on foot, holding numerous candles decorated with gold, proclaimed the glory, and once again held a procession in honour of the revered image. They then went back to the above-mentioned monastery of *ta Eusebiou*, where the casket that concealed the miracle-working image was reverently placed in the same church of the monastery, and when it was uncovered from the casket they saw and worshipped it with due reverence. Many people coming forward with pure intention were cured of their illnesses. One came in who was possessed by a demon, and was used as an instrument by the evil spirit to proclaim the praises of the image and the letter, just as in the past another of his kind had said to the Lord, We know who you are, the Holy One of Israel . Finally the spirit uttered the following words, Receive your glory and joy, Constantinople, and you, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, your kingdom . The man was cured on saying this and was freed immediately from the aggression of the demon. There are many witnesses of these words the emperor had sent the leaders of his council to honour and greet the desired object, and many bodyguards had come too, and it so happened that some magistrates and patricians as well as people from the lower ranks saw and heard it. Given that what was said soon came to pass, it is tting to wonder where the demon got his foreknowledge from. Those who have slipped away from divine glory and gone over to darkness instead of light are not believed to be able to prophesy naturally. It is clear that just as the divine power once used Balaam as a servant to prophesy, and other often unworthy people on other occasions according to some wise and well contrived dispensation, so too on the present occasion the power in the divine representation used the demon, which is why it foretold the events that were soon to take place. It is not out of place to recall this as it turned out so, but let us now go back to the story in order.

On the fteenth day of the month of August, while the emperors were celebrating the customary feast of the Dormition of the ever-virgin mother of God in the church devoted to her in Blachernae,

ἐκείσε οἱ τῶν τιμίων τούτων διάκονοι καὶ ἀπετέθη ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ εὐκτή-
 ριῳ τοῦ τοιούτου θείου ναοῦ ἢ ἔνδον ἔχουσα τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 κιβωτός. Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξωθεν ταύτην σεβασμίως ἡσπά-
 σαντο προσκυνήσαντες. Εἷτα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δορυφορίας καὶ λαμπάδων
 συγχῶν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείον τριήρην ταύτην διακομίσαντες σὺν αὐτῇ κατέ- 5
 λαβον τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείσε θείῳ ναῷ, ὃς Φάρος ὠνόμασται ἴσως
 διὰ τὸ οἶον ἱμάτιον λαμπρὸν κεκαλλωπίσθαι αὐτὸν περιτιῶς, ταύτην ἀπέ-
 θεντο. Τῇ δὲ ἰκνουμένη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἣτις ἑξακιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς ἦν, μετ'
 αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας πάλιν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν ποιησά-
 μενοι καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν ἐκεῖθεν οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ νεάζοντες βασιλεῖς, ὁ 10
 γὰρ γέρον ὀικουρὸς δι' ἀσθένειαν κατελείπετο, μετὰ ψαλμῶν καὶ ὕμνων
 καὶ δαψιλοῦς τοῦ φωτὸς διὰ τῆς πρὸς θάλασσαν καθόδου εἰς τὴν βασι-
 λειον τριήρην αὐτῆς ἐνθήμενοι, τῆς πόλεως ἐν χρῶ σχεδὸν τὴν εἰρεσίαν
 ποιούμενοι, ἵνα τρόπον τινὰ διαζώσῃ τὸ ἄστυ διὰ τῆς ἐν θαλάσῃ πορείας
 αὐτῆς, ἐκτὸς τοῦ πρὸς δύσιν τείχους τῆς πόλεως προσωρμίσθησαν, ἐνθα 15
 τῆς νεὸς ἐκβάντες, πεζοποροῦντες οἱ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς γερου-
 σίας βουλῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν κατάρχων μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 πληρώματος, τῇ προσηκούσῃ δορυφορίᾳ, ὡς ἄλλην κιβωτὸν μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτην, τὸ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων καὶ τιμίων φρουρὸν σκευὸς παρέ-
 πεμπον. Καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους μέχρι τῆς Χρυσῆς διελθόντες πύλης, 20
 εἷτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐντὸς γεγονότες τοῦ ἄστεος μετὰ μετεώρων ψαλμῳδιῶν καὶ
 ὕμνων καὶ ᾠδῶν πνευματικῶν καὶ ἀπείρου λαμπάδων φωτὸς τὴν πάνδη-
 μον συγκροτοῦντες παραπομπὴν διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν πορείαν διή-
 νουν, ἀγιασμοῦ μεταλαβεῖν καὶ κρείττονος σθένους τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοῦτο
 πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀβλαβῇ καὶ ἀπόρθητον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα συντηρηθήσεσθαι. 25
 Τοῦ δὲ σχολάζοντος ὄχλου πρὸς τὴν θεάν συντρέχοντος καὶ ὥσπερ κύ-

5 τριήρην] τριήρη C Q Di1 Es Mi1 Mi2, τριήριν Di2, om. Pa 6 θείῳ ἐκείσε Q
 Di1 ML2 Iv | Φάρος] Φώρος B Me 7 κεκαλλωπίσθαι] καὶ καλλωπίσθαι Di1 |
 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ A B Q V Me P2, αὐτὸ Pr ML2 Iv Pa 7 8 ἀπέθεντο] ἀπέθεν Es
 8 δὲ om. Q ML3 Di2 | δὲ ἰκνουμένη] δὲ δικνουμένη V X ML2 Mi3, δὲ δῖκνουμένη
 ML3, δὲ δὲ ἰκνουμένη Iv, δὲ δὲ ἰκνουμένη Pa, δεδι ἰκνουμένη Va 9 10 ποιησάμενοι]
 ποιούμενοι Mi2 10 βασιλεῖς] add. σὺν τῷ Θεοφυλάκτῳ πατριάρχῃ V Pa, add. σὺν τῷ
 πατριάρχῃ Θεοφυλάκτῳ X ML2 Iv Va Mi3 11 κατελείπετο] κατελίπετο B, ὑπελείπετο
 V ML3 Iv Mi2, ὑπελίπετο X ML2 Mi3 13 τριήρην] τριήρειν B, τριήρη C Q Di1
 Mi2, τριήριν Di2 Pr, τριήρι Es, om. Pa | ἐν χρῶ σχεδὸν] ἐγγὺς X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi3
 14 διαζώσῃ] διασώζῃ X | πορείαν Q 15 ἐκτὸς] ἐντὸς Pa | ἐνθα] add. διὰ X ML2
 ML3 Mi3, add. ἐκ Iv 16 νεὸς] νηὸς V Pa | πεζοποροῦντες οἱ τε βασιλεῖς] οἱ τε
 βασιλεῖς πεζοποροῦντες Pa, καὶ πεζοποροῦντες οἱ τε βασιλεῖς Va 16 17 καὶ πάντες
 οἱ τῆς γερούσιας βουλῆς om. Es 17 ἱερῶν] ἱερέων V X Pr Va 18 προσηκούσῃ]
 add. προσηγορίᾳ καὶ Mi3 20 ἐκτὸς Pa 22 ἀπείρου] ἀπείρων C Pr Va Mi1
 22 23 πάνδημον] add. ἐκείνην V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Mi3 24 τοῦτο] τοῦτοι C, τούτου
 Di1 Va

the bearers of the holy objects arrived in the evening, and the chest holding the image and the letter was placed in the upper chapel of this godly church. The emperors went up to the chest, and greeted and worshipped it although they did not open it. Then they conveyed it to
 5 the royal ship with honour, due escort and many lighted lamps, and so came with it to the palace. They placed it there in the divine chapel called Pharos,¹ possibly because it is lavishly adorned like a brilliant cloak. On the following day, the sixteenth of the month, they again kissed and worshipped it with the due respect, and then the priests
 10 and the young emperors (the elder emperor had stayed at home as he was ill) picked it up with psalms, hymns and bright lights. They took it down the road to the sea and once again placed it in the royal ship, rowing around the city so that it might in some way preserve the city by its sea circuit. They moored outside the city's western wall, where
 15 they disembarked. The emperors, all the members of the senatorial council, the patriarch and the whole body of the clergy went on foot with a fitting escort. They went with the box holding the precious and sacred objects as if it were another ark of the covenant or something even greater. They proceeded outside of the walls up to the Golden
 20 Gate and then went into the city, forming a procession with lofty psalms, hymns and spiritual chants and the light of countless torches as they made their way through the centre of the city, believing that in this way the city would be made holier and stronger, and would be kept unharmed and unassailable for all time. Everyone who could ran

¹ One of the meanings of *φάρος* is cloak.

ματα μακρὰ τοῦ δήμου πολλαχόθεν κινουμένου τε καὶ συρρέοντος, ἀν-
θρωπὸς τις τὰς βάσεις παρειμένος καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἀπὸ χρόνου μακροῦ, τοῖς
οἰκείοις διακόνοις ἐπεριδόμενος διανέστη πρὸς τὸ τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα διερ-
χομένην ἰδεῖν. Καὶ ἅμα τῇ θέᾳ παραδόξως ὑγιασθεὶς καὶ γνοὺς ἰσχυρο-
ποιηθέντα τῶν βάσεων αὐτοῦ τὰ σφυρὰ προσέδραμεν αὐτοποδὶ βαδίζων 5
καὶ κατησπάζετο τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος σορὸν καὶ ἐμεγάλυνε τὸν θεὸν τὸ θαῦμα
τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ διηγούμενος, ὃν οἱ συμπαρόντες ἅπαντες θεασάμενοι καὶ τῶν
ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ ἐπακούσαντες, δόξαν ἀπέπεμψαν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ, τῷ
ποιοῦντι αἰεὶ θαυμάσια καὶ ἑξαΐσια.

- 29 Τοσαύτη δὲ χύσις δακρύων ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ πρεσβεία καὶ δέησις πρὸς θεὸν 10
καὶ εὐχαριστία παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως γέγονε τῆς θείας εἰκόνος καὶ τῆς
σεβασμίας ἐπιστολῆς διὰ μέσου διερχομένων τοῦ ἄστεος, ὅσιν οὐκ ἔνι
λόγῳ ἐνδείξασθαι, ὥς ἡττωμένου τοῦ λόγου τῆς ὀψεως. Τὰ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν
ἔχοντα τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅρᾳ ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκούειν καλόν, ἐπεὶ κατόπιν 15
ὁ λόγος τῶν πραγμάτων εἴωθεν ἔρχεσθαι. Τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστείου
τοίνυν φθάσαντες ἀγορὰν οἱ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἑξαρχοὶ καὶ τῆς εὐθείας
ὁδοῦ μικρὸν πρὸς τὰ λαῖα παρεκνεύσαντες, τὸ τῆς θείας Σοφίας θεοῦ
ἐπώνυμον ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι τέμενος καὶ τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου
ἐντὸς τὴν τιμίαν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποτίθενται.
- 30 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος προσκυνήσαντος καὶ 20
τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσαντος, ἐξηλθὼν πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τοῦ φόρτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ
οἱ τελοῦντες τὴν προόδον καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλείων καταλαβόντες ἀνάκτορα

1 κινουμένου] κινουμένα M11 | κινουμένου τε] συνκινουμένου Pa 1 2 ἄνθρωπος τις] add. Ἀνδρέας τοῦνομα V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va M13 2 μακροῦ] add. τυγχάνων V X ML2 Iv Pa M13, add. τυχανῶν ML3 4 θέα] add. ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φόρου λιθοστρώτῳ πλακώματι V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa M13 | ὑγιασθεὶς] ὑγιασθεὶ V X, ὑγιωθείς I Di1 Di2 ML3 Va Me M11 M12 P1 5 αὐτοποδὶ] αὐτῷ ποδὶ A I Pr Me, αὐτὰ ποδὶ B, αὐταποδὶ Q 6 τῆς εἰκόνος] τῆς ἀγίας εἰκόνος V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va M13 7 τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ om. M13 | ἐπ' αὐτῷ] ἐπ' αὐτὸ Va 8 ἀπέπεμψαν] ἀνέπεμψαν P2 | ἀπέπεμψαν] ἀνέψαν A, ἀνέπεμψαν Di1 ML2 Pa M13 9 καὶ om. Pa P12 | ἑξαΐσια] ἑξέσια Di1 10 ὑφ' ἡδονῆς om. M12 | θεὸν] τὸν θεὸν X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa 11 εὐχαριστία] add. καὶ αἶνος V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa Va M13 | πάσης om. P2 | γέγονεν A B C D I ML1 Es Me M12 P1 | καὶ τῆς] καὶ Pa 12 ἐρχομένων ML1 Pa P1 12 13 ὅσιν ... ὀψεως om. Pa 12 οὐκ ἔνι] οὐκ ἔστι V X ML2 Iv M13, οὐκ ἔστιν ML3 13 ἡττωμένου] add. δῆθεν X ML2 ML3 Iv M13 14 πραγμάτων] τραύματων M12 | ἔστιν Pr Di2 Pa | ἐπεὶ κατόπιν ... ἔρχεσθαι om. Pa 15 Αὐγουστείου] Αὐγουστίου F V Pa, Αὐγούστου C M11 P2 16 τοίνυν] δὲ V X ML2 ML3 Iv Pa M13 | πανηγύρεως] πόλεως X ML2 ML3 Iv M13 17 πρὸς τὰ λαῖα om. Pa | λαῖα] παλαια ML1 19 ἀποτίθενται] ἐπατίθενται B, ἀνατίθενται C 20 προσκυνήσαντος καὶ om. Pr 20 21 καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσαντος om. P2 21 ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν V X ML2 ML3 Iv M13

- towards the spectacle, and the crowds gathered together from all over like huge waves. A lame man, who had been ill for a long time, leant upon his servants and stood up to see the divine image as it went past. He was miraculously cured just by looking at it, and when he realised
5 that his legs had been made firm he ran up to the container on his own feet, embraced it and praised God, telling of the wonder that had been worked in him. Everyone who was there saw him and heard what he said, and gave glory to Almighty God, who always works wonders and marvels.
- 10 So much weeping for joy, so much intercession, prayer to God and 29 thanksgiving took place throughout the city as the divine image and the sacred letter went through the centre of the city, that it is impossible to describe in words for the power of words is defeated by sight. For
15 things that are superlative are better seen than heard, since speech tends to fall short of the reality. When the leaders of the celebration came to the square before the Augusteion, they turned off the main street and went to the sacred precinct named after the divine wisdom of God, and placed the esteemed image and the letter in the innermost recesses of the sanctuary.
- 20 When all the clergy had worshipped and paid due respect, those who 30 had made the procession came out again carrying their holy burden, and made their way to the palace. They put the divine image in the

ἐν τῷ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τρικλίνῳ χρυσῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων χρηματίζειν εἰώθασι, τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα τέως ἰδρύουσιν ἁγιασθῆναι πάντως καὶ τὴν ἀνακτορικὴν καθέδραν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὁμοῦ καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπεικῶς μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐφεζομένοις οὐκ ἀπεικόντως πιστεύσαντες. Ἐκτενοῦς δὲ συνήθως γεγονυίας δεήσεως, ἥρθη 5 μετὰ τὴν ταύτης συμπλήρωσιν ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ἡ θεία εἰκὼν καὶ ἐν τῷ προορηθέντι τοῦ Φάρου ναῷ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀνιερώθη καὶ ἀνετέθη μέρει εἰς δόξαν πιστῶν, εἰς φυλακὴν βασιλέων καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταστάσεως.

30 *secundum Pa*

10

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος προσκυνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκεῖθεν τελοῦντες τὴν προόδον καταλαβόντες τὰ βασίλεια ἐν τῷ χρυσο-τρικλίνῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου, ἐν ᾧ οἱ βασιλεῖς καθεζόμενοι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων πραγμάτων χρηματίζειν εἰώθεισαν, ταύτην ἀποτίθενται καὶ προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀπονείμαντες, καὶ ἐκτενοῦς γεγονυίας δεήσεως, ἥρθη 15 μετὰ τὴν ταύτης συμπλήρωσιν ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ἡ θεία εἰκὼν καὶ ἐν τῷ προορηθέντι τοῦ Φάρου ναῷ, ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀνιερώθη καὶ ἀνετέθη μέρει εἰς δόξαν πιστῶν, εἰς φυλακὴν βασιλέων, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταστάσεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κρᾶτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας 20 τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

- 31 Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀχειροποιήτου θείας εἰκόνης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν Ἐδέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐδέσῃ ἀχειροποιήτου καὶ θείας μορφῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθι-

1 ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου om. Va | ἐν ᾧ] add. οἱ βασιλεῖς καθεζόμενοι Va (cf. Pa)
 2 μεγίστων] add. πραγμάτων V X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Va Mi₃ | εἰώθασι] εἰώθασιν A X Es, εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς καθεζόμενοι V, εἰώθασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καθεζόμενοι X ML₂ ML₃ Iv Va Mi₃ 4 ταύτης] ταύταις F Pr ML₁ P₁ 5 πιστεύσαντας Diⁱ Miⁱ | Ἐκτενοῦς] κτενοῦς A¹ | γεγονυίας] γενομένης Va 6 συμπλήρωσιν] ἐκπλήρωσιν I | πάλιν om. I Mi₃ | καὶ ἐν τῷ] om. ἐν Iv 7 τοῦ Φάρου ναῷ] ναῷ τοῦ Φάρου I | Φάρου] Φώρου Me | ἀνιερώθη] ἀφιερώθη I ML₂ Es 8 φυλακὴν] φυλακτῆριον X ML₂ ML₃ | καὶ om. V X Iv Mi₂ Mi₃ 9 ὅλης] add. τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ B Me | καταστάσεως] add. ἣ πρέπει δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν X, add. ἣ πρέπει δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν Iv ML₂ ML₃, add. ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν Mi₃ 31 36 om. A B C D E F G H I K Q R S T U W Y Pr Diⁱ Di² ML₁ Va Es Me Miⁱ P₁ P₂, 31 37 om. Pa Mi₃, 31 36 post 37 Mi₂ 22 τοῦ θεοῦ] τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ X ML₂ ML₃ Iv 23 Ἐδέσῃ] Αἰδέσῃ V passim, Ἐδέσῃ X

hall called the Chrysotriklinos, on the emperor's throne, from which the greatest decisions are usually taken. Not unreasonably, they believed that the emperor's throne would be made holy and that justice and uprightness would be given to all who sat on it. After completion of the
 5 usual litany, the divine image was taken from there again and taken to the above-mentioned chapel of Pharos. It was consecrated and placed on the right towards the east for the glory of the faithful, the safety of the emperors and the security of the whole city together with the Christian community.

10 *30 according to Pantokrator 99 (which ends here)*

When the members of the clergy had worshipped, they came out in procession and made their way to the palace. They put the divine image in the Chrysotriklinos, on the emperor's throne, on which the emperors sit and make the greatest decisions. They paid due reverence,
 15 and after due completion of the litany the divine image was again taken from there and removed to the above-mentioned chapel of Pharos. It was consecrated and placed on the right towards the east for the glory of the faithful, the safety of the emperors and to safeguard the whole city together with the Christian community in Jesus Christ our Lord, to
 20 whom be the glory and the power, now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.

31 to 36 only in V X ML² ML³ Iv and Mi²

About the holy and divine image, which was not made by human
 31 hands, of Jesus Christ our God, and how it was honoured in the city
 25 of Edessa by those who lived there. Many different opinions have been handed down to us about the divine form of Christ the true God in

νοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ διάφοροι δόξαι ἕως ἡμῶν πεφοιτήκασιν, ὅπως τε τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς ἀπεικόνιστο καὶ τίνος αἰτήσαντος καὶ τίνων διακονησάντων καὶ πῶς μὲν ἀπολιόρκετος ἡ πόλις, ἐν ἧπερ ἀπέκειτο, ἐφυλάττετο, πῶς δὲ καὶ κατὰ καιροὺς παρὰ πιστῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκρυπτομένη θαυματουργοῦσα πάλιν ἀνεκαλύπτετο, ἅπερ οὐ παρέργως τῷ θειοτάτῳ 5 καὶ μεγάλῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ φιλοπονηθέντα καὶ συλλεγόντα καὶ βίβλοις ἐναπογραφέντα εἰς προσθήκην ἐπαινετῆς πράξεως μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ μεγίστων κατορθωμάτων τῷ χριστιανικῷ παραδέδωκε πολιτεύματι καλῶς γε περὶ τούτου διανοηθεὶς καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεοπνεύστως καὶ ὑψηλῶς λογισάμενος. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐ 10 μέχρι τούτου ἔστι, παρεξέτεινε δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐρεῦνης καὶ μεθ' ὁποίας τιμῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἑδέσῃ χριστωνύμου λαοῦ ἦγετο ἢ παροῦσα δηλώσει διήγησις.

- 32 Λέγεται τι τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς τῇ πρωτερευούσῃ κυριακῇ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀγίων νηστειῶν ἑβδομάδος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέως μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σκευοφυλακίῳ συναθροιζομένου προὔτιθετο μὲν θρόνος, ἐπετίθετο δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τιμία καὶ ἀχειροποίητος εἰκὼν ὁθόνη περικαλυπτομένη λευκῇ. Τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων εἰ τύχοιεν παρεῖναι εἴτε πρεσβύτεροι μετέωρον τὸν θρόνον αἶροντες ἐξίσαι τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου τοῦ μὲν ἀρχιερέως προπορευομένου καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπιφερομένου. Καθ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τούτου σκήπτροις χρυσοῖς ἡ 15 τιμὴ ἀφωσίωτο καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ῥιπίδες λειτουργικαὶ δυοκαίδεκα στοιχηδὸν διετάττοντο καὶ μετὰ ταύτας θυμιατήρια μετὰ ἄρωμάτων τσοῦτα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς λαμπάδες ἰσάριθμοι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ τινες τόπους ἀφωρισμένους ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ προόδῳ τρίτον ἵσταμένου καὶ τὸν λαὸν τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπισφραγίζοντος καὶ πάλιν τῆς πορείας ἀπαρχομένου. 20 25

- 33 Οὕτως τοίνυν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης προπομπῆς ἐπιτελουμένης μέχρι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατελάμβανον, τοῦ συνεπομένου λαοῦ τὸ κύριε ἐλέησον ἐπιφθεγγομένου. Εἶσω δὲ τῶν ἀδύτων τῆς θείας καὶ ἀχράντου εἰκόνος ἀποτεθείσης καὶ αὐθις ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μεθ' οὗπερ ἐν χερσὶ κατεῖχε τιμίῳ σταυ- 30

1 ἡμῶν θεοῦ Mi2 | ἡμῶν] ἡμῖν X ML2 ML3 Iv | πεφοιτήκασιν Mi2 6 Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ om. Mi2 14 Λέγεται] add. γὰρ X ML2 ML3 Iv 17 προὔτιθεται ML3 | μὲν om. Iv | ἀπετίθετο ML3 18 ἐπ' αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ V | καὶ θεοῦ om. Mi2 | καὶ ἀχειροποίητος om. Mi2 | ὁθόνη] ὁθό///// πανταχοθεν X, ὁθόνη πανταχοθεν ML2 ML3 Iv 22 χρυσοῖς] χρυσοῖς δυοί V, δυοῖν Mi2 23 24 στοιχῆδον V Mi2 24 μετ' ἄρωμάτων Mi2 28 Οὕτω ML3 | τοίνυν om. Mi2 30 θείας καὶ om. Mi2 30 31 ἐπιτεθείσης ML3

Edessa, which was not made by human hands about how the image came about in the first place, at whose request, who kept it and how the city where it was kept was safe from attack, how it was hidden and found again working miracles by faithful men at various times. Our
 5 excellent and great emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus gathered all these traditions together and wrote them all down in books in great detail, a most praiseworthy deed among the other great things he left to Christian society. He thought about this and meditated on the great events with divine and lofty inspiration. But since he did not stop there,
 10 he extended his research. The present narrative will make clear with what honour the image was treated by the Christian people of Edessa.

One such story tells about how, on the first Sunday of the first week of
 32 Lent, the bishop of the city together with all the priests and lay people gathered together in the sacristy of the church. A throne was set up and
 15 the sacred image of Christ and God, which was not made by human hands, was wrapped in white linen and placed on the throne. Four bishops, if they happened to be present, or priests, lifted the throne up and came out of the sacristy with the bishop at their head, bearing the sign of the cross in his hands. Honour was paid by golden sceptres on
 20 each side and twelve ritual fans arranged in order. Then came the same number of censers with sweet-smelling incense and the same number of torches. The bishop would stop three times during the procession at certain specified places, bless the people with the sign of cross and then keep on going.

25 When the sacred procession was over, they took the image to the 33 sanctuary, while the people followed behind singing Lord have mercy. The holy and undelivered image was placed in the innermost recesses, the bishop once more made the sign of the cross over the people with the precious cross he was holding in his hands, to the east, to the right

ροῦ τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπεσφράγιζε πλῆθος κατὰ τε ἀνατολὰς δεξιὰ τε καὶ εὐώ-
 νυμα. Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὴν μεταφέροντες μεθ' οὗπερ ἐπωχεῖτο θρόνου ἐν τῇ
 πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ἑτέρω, βραχυτέρω μὲν, ὑψηλοτέρω δὲ
 προσπεπηγμένην τραπέζην, προσανετίθεσαν· καὶ δὴ τῆς ἱερᾶς μυσταγωγίας
 ἐπιτελουμένης καὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων πάντων ἀξιουμένων, ἔξῃν μόνω 5
 τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ ἀχράντῳ εἰκόνι προσεγγίζοντι προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ
 ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἶρειν ἅπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπικειμένην λευκὴν ὀθό-
 νην καὶ πορφυρίζουσιν ἑτέραν περιτιθέσθαι. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ θειότατος οὗτοσι
 θρόνος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱερέων αὐθις αἰρόμενος μετὰ τῆς ὁμοίας προπομ-
 πῆς καὶ προόδου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπεκομίζετο σκευοφυλακίᾳ. 10

- 34 Εἴθ' οὕτως τῇ μέσῃ ἑβδομάδι τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμε-
 ρῶν συγκεχώρητο μόνω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ εἰσιέναι τε καὶ τὴν θήκην ἐν ἧπερ
 ἐπέκειτο διανοίγειν καὶ σπόγγῳ ἀνεπάφῳ διαβρόχῳ ὕδατι ταύτην ἐναπο-
 μάπτειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπόγγου ἀποθλιβόμενον διαδιδόναι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ,
 ἔξ οὗπερ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιχρῶμενοι τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἁγιασμοῦ ἐνεπίμπλαντο. Ἄλλ' 15
 ἢ μὲν τοιαύτη προπομπή τε καὶ τελετὴ κατὰ μόνους τὰς τῶν ἁγίων νηστει-
 ῶν ἐτελεῖτο ἡμέρας, ἅτε δὴ τῇ ἐγκρατεῖα τῶν πολλῶν κεκαθαρμένων καὶ
 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διορατικὸν τηλαυγέστερον κεκτημένων τῆς ἐκ τῶν παθῶν
 ἐπιπροσθούσης ἀγλῆος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χερσὶν ἀσπίλοις τῶν τιμίων ἐφαπτο-
 μένων καὶ ἱερῶς ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ θείαις ἡγουμένων προσιέναι τελεταρχίας. 20
 Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας τοῦ ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου ἡμέρας τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης ἀπει-
 χοντο τελετῆς, ὅτι μὴ θέμις πυκνότερον προσιέναι τοῖς ἀπροσίτοις, ὥς μὴ
 τῷ ῥάσῳ τῆς ἐγγύτητος καταχυνωθῆναι τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔντονον. Καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ θυρίσιν ἢ παλαιὰ τῆς θείας μορφῆς περιεστέλλετο θήκη, ὥς μὴ
 θεατὴν εἶναι πᾶσιν ὅτε καὶ ἡνίκα βούλονται, ἐν δυσὶ ταύταις τῆς ἑβδο- 25
 μάδος ἡμέραις, τετράδι τέ φημι καὶ παρασκευῇ, διὰ τῶν πεπερονημένων
 λεπτοτάτων σιδήρων, ἃ παρ' ἐκείνοις σκῆπτρα ὀνόμαστο, τῶν τοιούτων
 θυρίδων ἀναπεπτασμένων, ἐβλέπετο μὲν παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ συνεληλυθό-
 τος πλήθους καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἕκαστος ἐξιλεοῦτο τὴν ἐκείνης ἀκατάληπτον
 δύναμιν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἡφιετό τινι προσεγγίσει ἄλλ' οὐδὲ χεῖλεσιν ἢ ὄμμασι 30
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσπαῦσαι μορφώματος, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ θείου φόβου τὴν
 πίστιν αὖξιντος φοβερωτέραν καὶ φρικωδεστέραν τὴν πρὸς τὸ τιμώμενον
 τιμὴν ἀποδείκνυσθαι.

1 δεξιὰ τε] καὶ δεξιὰ X ML₂ ML₃ Iv 6 ἀγία καὶ om. Mi₂ 11 οὕτω ML₃
 13 ἀπέκειτο Mi₂ 13 14 ἀπομάπτειν X ML₂ ML₃ Iv 14 διδόναι X ML₂ ML₃
 Iv 15 ἐπίμπλαντο X 28 ἀναπεπτασμένων X 30 ὄμμασιν V 32 τὸ] τὸν X ML₂
 ML₃

and to the left, facing the east. They then picked it up again with the throne on which it was carried and placed it on the smaller but more elevated table to the east of the holy altar. When the holy liturgy had been celebrated and all the divine mysteries had been duly performed, only the bishop was allowed to draw near the holy and unde led image, to revere it and to kiss it, and then to take off the white linen cloth that was covering it and wrap it in another, purple one. Then the divine throne was picked up by the same priests and taken back by the same route, with the same procession, and placed in the holy sacristy.

10 The next part was as follows. On the fourth day of the middle week 34
of Lent the bishop alone was permitted to go in and open the chest in
which the image was kept. He wiped the icon with an unused sponge
that was soaked in water and gave the water that he then squeezed
out to all the people; they anointed their faces with it, and were lled
15 with its holiness. This kind of procession and ritual, however, was
only carried out during the days of Holy Lent, when the people were
puri ed by self-control, and had acquired a much clearer vision in their
souls, shining through the enveloping mist of suffering. This was why
they touched the holy objects with unstained hands, and believed that
20 they attended the holy and divine rites in a holy way. They abstained
from this ritual on the other days of the yearly cycle, because it is
not lawful to approach the unapproachable too often by habit, and
so that the intensity of their faith would not slacken through easy
proximity. The ancient chest containing the divine image was enclosed
25 behind doors so that it would not be visible to everyone whenever
they wanted, although these doors were opened two days every week,
namely Wednesday and Friday, with ne pins of iron, that they called
sceptres. The image was beheld by all the congregation, and everyone
propitiated the image s limitless power in his prayers, although nobody
30 was allowed to draw near and touch the holy form with his lips or
his eyes. Thus did fear of God increase their faith and make people
shudder with a greater fear for the revered object.

- 35 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἐτελεῖτο ἡ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀχειροποιήτου εἰκόνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρόοδος καὶ τοιαύτη προπομπὴ καὶ λαμπροφορία κατεφαιδρύνετο. Οὐκ οἶδαμεν δὲ οἷσιν τρόποις καὶ αἰτίαις, ὅσον δ' οὖν καταλαβεῖν δυνατόν, διὰ μὲν τοῦ θρόνου τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν τῆς θεότητος, διὰ δὲ τῶν σκήπτρων τὸ τῆς βασιλείας μέγεθος ὑπογράφοντες καὶ ταῖς μὲν 5 ῥιπίσι τὴν τῶν ἐξαπτερύγων καὶ πολυομιμάτων πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αἰδῶ καὶ τιμὴν ὑπεμφαίνοντες, τοῖς δὲ ἀρώμασι καὶ θυμιατηρίοις τὴν τοῦ κενωθέντος δι' ἡμᾶς μύρου μυστικὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν εὐωδίαν ὑποχαράττοντες. Αἱ λαμπάδες τὴν ἐν φωτὶ αἰδίῳ καὶ ἀπροσίτῳ κατοικίαν ἡνίττοντο, ἡ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἰσοδος τὴν εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν. Τί δὲ καὶ ἡ 10 ἔνδον τῶν ἀθεάτων ἀποθέσις καὶ ἡ μυστικὴ τελετή; τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ ὑποφαίνουσι καὶ τὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐκούσιον. Τί δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς; πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν τῶν ἀγγελικῶν ἐκλαμβάνονται τάξεων, ἐν οἷς ἐπωχούμενος δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων ἀνεκηρύττεται. Τὰς δ' ἐπικεκλιμένας διττὰς ὀθόνας οὕτως ὑποληπτέον· διὰ μὲν τῆς λευκῆς εἴτε 15 τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ σαφές καὶ πᾶσι κατάδηλον ὥς εἴη θεὸς τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, παραγωγεὺς τε καὶ συνοχεὺς καὶ αἰεὶ ὢν καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων αἰεὶ τοῦτο γὰρ κοινῶς ἀνωμολόγηται, εἴτε τὸ μέγα καὶ ὑπέρφωτον ἐκείνο φῶς, ὅπερ καὶ ὡς ἱμάτιον ἀναβάλλεται καὶ κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ κηρύττεται καὶ φῶς εἶναι κόσμου πιστεύεται καὶ φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐληλυθέναι δείκνυται. Διὰ 20 δὲ τῆς πορφυρίζουσας τὸ ἀκατάληπτον οἶμαι καὶ ἀθέατον τῆς ἀνεκφράστου οὐσίας τό τε τῆς ἀκαταληψίας σκότος, ὅπερ καὶ ἀποκρυφὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθετο, διεῖργον τὴν γεννητὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν. Ἡ δὲ γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυσιαστηρίου πρὸς τὸν τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου οἶκον ὑποστροφή καὶ μετάστασις ἢ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας 25 πρὸς οὐρανούς ἀνύψωσις καὶ ἀνάβασις, ἣν καὶ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ λαμπροφορίας ἀναθειάζουσι τῷ δεσπότη κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὸ σέβας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντες.
- 36 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ θείας εἰκόνης πολυειδὴς προπομπὴ καὶ προέλευσις τοιούτοις προχαρᾶττομένη αἰνίγμασι τοιαύτας ἔσχε καὶ τὰς 30 τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκβάσεις. Εἰ δὲ τινες μυστικώτερον τούτων καὶ ὑψηλότερον

1 καὶ ἀχειροποιήτου om. Mi2 2 τοιαύτη προπομπὴ ML2, τοιαύτη προπομπὴ Iv | λαμπροφορία Iv 3 δὲ om. Mi2 4 θεότητος] add. αἰνιττόμενοι ML2 ML3 Iv Mi2
9 ἡνίττοντο] αἰνιττόμενοι X, αἰνιττόμεναι ML2 ML3 Iv 10 Τί] Τίς X ML2 ML3
Iv 12 ὑποφαίνουσι] ἀποφαίνουσιν V, ὑποφαίνουσιν Mi2 | καὶ τοῦ] καὶ τὸ τοῦ ML2
ML3 Iv 13 οἱ om. Mi2 | εὐαγγελικῶν V 14 ἀνακηρύττεται Iv 15 ἀποληπτέον
Mi2 17 ὡσαύτως] ὡς οὕτως V 18 κοινῶς] add. πᾶσιν Mi2 | μέγα καὶ om. Mi2
23 γεννητὴν] add. αὐτοῦ Mi2 24 δέ] μέντοι Mi2 | τοῦ om. V 26 καὶ (2) om. ML2
ML3 Iv 27 ἀποθειάζουσι ML2 ML3 29 ἐκείνης καὶ θείας om. Mi2

Such was the way in which the procession of the holy image of Christ, 35
 which was not made by human hands, was organised, made splendid
 by the torchbearing cort•ge. We do not know exactly why or for what
 reason, although it seems reasonable to assume that the throne repre-
 5 sented the divine power over all, the sceptres kingly greatness, the fans
 indicated the divine praise of the six-winged and many-eyed beings,
 while the censers and the incense were a radiance of the mystical
 myrrh, sweet-smelling beyond our comprehension, that is poured out
 for our sake. The torches represented his abode in eternal and unap-
 10 proachable light, and the entrance into the church his coming on earth.
 But what can we say about its being placed among unseen things and
 the mystical rites? They show his sacri•ce for us when he was among us
 and that he willingly underwent the passion and death. What about the
 priests? They are like the ranks of angels by whom he is borne aloft and
 15 acclaimed the creator of all in their midst. The two linen cloths on it
 should be understood as follows. The white cloth is the clear and obvi-
 ous fact, known to all, that he is God, producer and container of this
 universe, who ever is and is ever the same; this is generally acknowl-
 edged. It could also represent that great light above lights that he puts
 20 on like a cloak, and in which he is proclaimed to live, and is believed
 to be the light of the world and is shown to have come into the world
 as light. I would think that the purple cloth represents the incompre-
 hensible and invisible nature of his unutterable being and the darkness
 that cannot be understood, which hides him away and separates his
 25 begotten nature from the unbegotten one that is beyond understanding.
 The return and removal from the holy altar to the sacristy represent
 his lifting up and ascension into heaven after ful•filling his mission. They
 revere this with the same honour and torchbearing, giving worship and
 honour to the Lord as far as they can.

30 With such mysteries was the manifold and diverse procession of that 36
 sacred and divine image designed, and such were meanings of the truth
 they represented. Other people might have more mysterious or elevated

νενοήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε τέως ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐγχείρησις πρὸς ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ πονήματος.

- 37 Ἄλλ' , ὃ θεῖον ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἀπαραλλάκτου πατρὸς ὁμοιώματος, ὃ χαρα-
 κτὴρ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῆς Πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὃ σεπτὴ καὶ πάντιμε
 σφραγὶς τοῦ ἀρχετύπου κάλλους Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ὡς γὰρ ἐμψύχῳ 5
 σοι πιστῶς διαλέγομαι· σῶζε καὶ φρούρει αἰετὸν τὸν εὐσεβῶς καὶ πράως ἡμῶν
 βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐπιδημίας ἀνάμνησιν λαμπρῶς ἐορτάζοντα, ὃν τῇ
 παρουσίᾳ σου ἐπὶ τὸν παππῶν καὶ πατρῶν θρόνον ἀνύψωσας. Φύλαττε
 τὸν τούτου βλαστὸν εἰς διαδοχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἀνώλε-
 θρον. Βράβευε τῇ πολιτείᾳ εἰρηναίαν κατάστασιν. Τὴν βασιλίδι ταύτην 10
 τῶν πόλεων ἀπολιόρκητον διατήρησον καὶ δὸς ἡμᾶς εὐαρεστοῦντας τῷ
 ἀρχετύπῳ σου Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπουρανίῳ εἰσδεχθῆναι βασι-
 λείᾳ αὐτοῦ δοξολογοῦντας καὶ ἀνυμνοῦντας αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα
 καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

1 ἐγχείρησις] add. ἐπαρκέσει Mi2 37 om. Pa Mi3 3 θεῖον] θεῖων B, add. καὶ
 ἄχραντον V X ML2 ML3 Iv | πατρὸς] τοῦ πατρὸς V X ML2 ML3 Iv Mi2 3 4
 χαρακτῆρ] χαρακτήρ F¹ 6 περιφρούρει ML2 ML3 Iv | τὸν εὐσεβῶς] τῶν εὐσεβῶν P2
 7 τὴν τῆς] τῆς σῆς Me | τῆς] add. σῆς I Es Mi1 P1 P2 8 Φύλαττα Es 10 Βράβευσε
 B | Βράβευε τῇ πολιτείᾳ εἰρηναίαν κατάστασιν] Εἰρηναίαν κατάστασιν βράβευε τῇ πόλει
 Pr Va | εἰρηναία Q | Τὴν βασιλίδι ταύτην] Τῇ βασιλίδι ταύτῃ V X Mi2 12 σου]
 add. κάλλει V X ML2 ML3 Iv | οὐρανίῳ Mi2 13 δοξολογοῦντας] add. ἀιγιγῶς
 V X ML2 ML3 Iv | πρέπει] εἰ X 14 καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις om. X, ἡ om. Es |
 προσκύνησις] add. νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ V ML2 ML3 Iv | Ἀμήν] add. τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν
 καλῶν θεῷ χάρις ἔτους ζ ρ κ η μήνος σεπτεβρίῳ, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Ἰγνατίου πόνος Di2

thoughts than these, but we have fulfilled our undertaking as best we could in order to gain approval for our efforts.

But, o divine likeness of the likeness of the unchanging Father, o form 37
of the Father's person, o holy and venerable seal of Christ, our God's
5 archetypal goodness I speak to you in faith as if you had a living
soul save and keep always our noble and gentle ruler, who keeps the
feast of your coming in due fashion, the one you placed on his father's
and grandfather's throne in your presence. Keep his offspring safe for
the family succession and the security of rule. Bring to the people
10 a state of peace. Keep this queen of cities free from siege. Make us
pleasing to your image, Christ, our God, to receive us into his heavenly
kingdom, praising him and singing hymns, for to him is due honour
and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

The Sermon of Gregorius Referendarius

Codex

V Vaticanus Gr 511 saec. XI f. 143b 150b¹

- 1 Γρηγορίου ἀρχιδιακόνου καὶ ῥεφερενδαρίου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κων-
σταντίνου πόλεως λόγος ὅτι νόμοις ἐγκωμίων οὐχ ὑπόκειται τὸ παράδο-
ξον καὶ ὅτι πατριάρχαι τρεῖς ἀνετάξαντο ἐκμαγεῖον εἶναι Χριστοῦ, ὅπερ
ἀπὸ τὰ Αἰδεσσα μετ' ἐνακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἐννεακαίδεκα μετηγάγετο σπουδῇ
βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν ἔτει ςυνβ'. Κύριε εὐλόγησον. 5
- 2 Παράδοξος ἡ πανήγυρις, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ οὗ συγκεκριόηται, τὸ δέ ἐστιν
ἐπιεικῶς ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν. Τί γάρ παράδοξον, εἰ διανοία περιλαμβάνεται;
Προσήκουσα τούτῳ τιμῇ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον δοξάζεσθαι·
ὄθεν τὸν πειρώμενον ὥς τινα χρυσῆν, ὡς λόγος, πλέκειν σειρὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ,
δριμέα τυχὸν ῥητορείας ἐπενθυμήματα, οἷς τὸ ἀποίητον πεποιῆσθαι καὶ 10
δεδέσθαι τὸ λελυμένον ἰστόρηται, δίκαιον ὁμοιοῦν τῷ τῷ λόγῳ σταθμᾶ-
σθαι θρασυνομένῳ τὸ ἄπειρον. Ταῦτόν γάρ ἐκεῖνο οἶεσθαι λέγω μετρεῖν
καὶ ζητεῖν ἐν τούτῳ πειρᾶσθαι, ἅπερ ἀπαιτεῖν εἴωθεν ἢ τε τοῦ λόγου περι-
νοια ἢ τε τῆς διανοίας συζήτησις. Ἀπόχρη τοιγαροῦν προσκυνεῖσθαι ὅπερ 15
ἐστιν καὶ μὴ ὡς τὰ μὴ οὕτω λόγῳ ὑποτιθέναι δοκιμαζέτω τις καί, ὃ μᾶλλον
ὀφείλεται, συναποδεικνύτω ἐπειγομένῳ μοι ὡς οὐ μόνῃ παράδοσις, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἱστορες συνιστῶσιν ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τιμώμενον.
- 3 Τί τοῦτο; ὅτι τῇ ἀπλῶς πρὸς πρόσωπον προσψαύσει Χριστοῦ εἰδοποιήται
εἰς μορφήν αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν τινὰς ἄγαν ἐπικινδύνως καὶ σφαλερῶς
ἀναπεπλάσθαι ὡς τὰ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς διάτοι, κἂν μὴ τίς μοι συναντι- 20
λαμβάνεσθαι βούλοιτο, πάρεμι, ὅτι μὴ τὰ κάλλιστα ὑπεριθέναι χρεῶν,
τοὺς ἱστορήσαντας συστησόμενος, οὐ λόγῳ σεμνυνομένῳ λέξεων γλαφυ-
ρῶν, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπλοῖκῳ δὲ χαρακτηρὶ καὶ
λαλικῳ, ὅτι με, εἰ καὶ μὴ κομπῶν ὁ λόγος, ἢ γνώσις οὐκ ἰδιώτην συνίστη- 25
σιν.

11 τῷ λόγῳ] Dubarle

¹ Edited and translated into French by Andr -Marie Dubarle, *L'Hom lie de Gr goire le R f rendaire pour la R ception del Image d desse*, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 55 (1997), 5 51.

The Sermon of Gregory Referendarius

A sermon by Gregory the Archdeacon and Referendarius of the great church at Constantinople, about how unbelievable things are not subject to the laws of praise, and about how three patriarchs have declared that there is an image of Christ which was brought from Edessa 919 years afterwards by the zeal of a pious emperor, in the year 6452.¹ Lord bless us.

The assembly of people is unbelievable, because the reason why everybody has come together is almost beyond understanding. For how can something be unbelievable if it can be understood? The thing dignity is to believe the object exists, and to praise it beyond reason. Like one who tries to put, as it were, a golden cord on it, profound thoughts of eloquence perhaps, by which what cannot be made is said to have been made, and the loose bound, we could compare this to boldly trying to measure the infinite. I would say that to believe you can measure this is to seek and search for the intelligence of reason or the quest for understanding. It is therefore enough to venerate what it is, and not for somebody to think it can be subjected to reason as if it were not so. And what is even more important, it should be shown by my efforts as something that is more than tradition, something that observers can define as a revered object.

And so, what exactly is it? By the simple touching to the face of Christ, an image of his form was made, so that people would not think in a dangerous or perilous way that it never actually existed and has been invented. And so even if nobody wishes to help me in this, I will step forward to state that it is not necessary to postpone good things. I will now therefore bring forward the witnesses, not in a magnificent style with polished words, lest the cross of Christ be rendered vain, but rather with simple letters and words, so that even if my own words show I am not an elegant writer, my knowledge will show I am not ignorant.

¹ i.e. AD 944.

- 4 Ἦδη οὖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσκευάσατε ἱκανῶς τὰ δι' ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν
τῶν τηλικούτων ἀκρόασιν ἀπαντᾷ, συνιστῶ καὶ ἀκούετε. Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς
οὐδὲ ὁ τυχὼν τῆς ἱστορίας πατήρ· ποσῶ τιμῶνται οἱ ταύτης τοκεῖς τοῦ ἀδι-
αστάτου ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ὧ καὶ ἡ μέχρι τούτου στᾶσα εἶναι μονὰς εὐδοκεῖ. Τί
δαὶ καὶ ὁ Χριστός; Ὅπου τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμφωνοῦσιν ὀνόματι, τὸ ὑπ' 5
αὐτῶν μαρτυρούμενον βέβαιον. Τούτων τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας σπου-
δὴν ὁ ἀγνωστικὸς λόγος καὶ ἀκριβῆς αὐτῶν μαρτυρεῖ, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα καὶ
τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης βίον ἐπάξιον πόλεις ἀοίδιμοι σαλπίζουσιν ἔτι καὶ
νῦν, αἱ πατριάρχας τούτους ἔχειν ἡξίωοντο, Χριστόφορον Ἀντιόχεια, Ἰὼβ 10
Ἀλεξάνδρεια, Βασίλειον Ἱεροσόλυμα· οὗτοι πλεῖστα λόγῳ μακρῷ κατὰ
τῶν δυσσεβούντων ἱστορησάμενοι, ἐν ἐκείνοις καὶ περὶ τούτου ταῦτα συν-
ανετάξαντο· συζήτησις βασιλέως, φησί, τοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην
Αἰδεσσα δημοσίους ἀνατεθειμένους κώδικας ἀναγνῶναι ἡμᾶς προετρέ-
ψατο.
- 5 Ἄλλ' ἄνωθεν τῆς ἱστορίας λαβώμεθα. Ἐπὶ σωματικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνδημοῦντος 15
Χριστοῦ, Ἀγβαρος οὕτω καλούμενος ἐδημαγώγει τὰ Αἰδεσσα· οἷος τὴν
ἀρετὴν, εἰ καὶ τότε τοῦ κηρύξοντος ἀπορίᾳ τοῖς θύραθεν συνεθρήσκειεν,
ἢ πρὸς ὃν οὐχ ἑωράκει καὶ πεπιστευκέναι ἡπείγετο θεολόγος ἐπιστολὴ
αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖ. Γράφει γὰρ οὗτος Χριστῷ δυσωπῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι νοσή-
ματος οὗ κατείχετο καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντιγράφου ἡξίωται. Εὐκαιρον 20
μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.
- 6 Ἀγβάρου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Χριστὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πεμφθεῖσα διὰ Ἀνα-
νίου ταχυδρόμου αὐτοῦ· Ἀγβαρος ἅμα τοπάρχης Ἰησοῦ σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ
ἀναφανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων χαίρειν ἤκουσται μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ
τῶν ἱαμάτων τῶν ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων· ὥς 25
γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ λεπροὺς
καθαρίζεις καὶ ἀκάθαρα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν
μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις. Καὶ ταῦτα

And so, now that you have suitably prepared the condition in which
 the soul presents¹ itself to hear such things, I will continue so that you
 can listen. There is not just one father of this history, but as many as
 make up the indivisible number; to such a figure it seemed fitting to
 5 reach.² As Christ said, wherever three people are gathered together in
 my name, their witness is sure. Their contentious and precise word-
 ing is witness to their zeal for the truth. Their famous cities even
 now proclaim their names and their lives worthy of the high priest-
 hood, cities worthy of having such men as patriarchs. Antioch pro-
 10 claims Christophorus, Alexandria proclaims Job and Jerusalem pro-
 claims Basil. They have written lengthy works against heretics, in which
 they have written about this too. As he says, Discussing this with the
 Emperor inspired us to read the state manuscripts deposited at Edessa,
 beyond the Euphrates .

15 Let us take the story from the beginning. When Christ was still physi- 5
 cally with us, the ruler of Edessa was called Agbar.³ In spite of his ador-
 ing foreign gods through the lack of a preacher, his theological letter to
 the one he had never seen and was driven to believe in bears witness to
 his goodness. He wrote to Christ requesting to be cured of the disease
 20 he was suffering from, and received a reply full of good hope. It would
 not be out of place to recall the letters.

Agbar's letter to Christ in Jerusalem, sent via Ananias his messenger. 6
 Agbar, at the same time⁴ ruler, to Jesus, who has appeared as a gra-
 cious saviour in the region of Jerusalem greetings. I have heard about
 25 you and about the cures you perform without medicine or herbs. It
 is said that you make the blind see again and the lame walk, you
 cleanse lepers, expel unclean spirits and demons, cure those suffering
 from chronic and painful diseases, and raise the dead. On hearing all

¹ The manuscript has no verb for the noun ψυχή although following Dubarle's sugges-
 tion (reading ἀπαντᾷ for the manuscript's ἅπαντα) the text makes more sense. Another
 possibility is that the manuscript reading should be preserved (Now that you have suit-
 ably prepared everything by which the soul ...) and a different, now lost verb be pro-
 vided. It could even have been the verb suggested by Dubarle, lost in copying due to its
 similarity to ἅπαντα.

² i.e. There are three authors to be used as witnesses.

³ While recounting the letters, the sermon spells the name as Agbar , later reverting
 to the more usual form "Abgar".

⁴ Greek ἄμα, possibly a corruption of *Uchama*, referring to the king's skin disease.

πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο, ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι πρὸς με καὶ τὸ πάθος, ὃ ἔχω, θεραπεῦσαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσι καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαί σε· πόλις οὖν σμικροτάτη μοί 5 ἐστὶν καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖται ἀμφοτέροις.

- 7 Ἀντίγραφον ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ διὰ Ἀνανίου ταχυδρομοῦ τοπάρχου Ἀγβάρου· Μακάριος ὁ πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ ἑωρακώς με· γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἑωρακότες με <μὴ> πιστεύειν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες με καὶ αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσιν καὶ ζήσωνται· περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς 10 σέ, δέον ἐστὶν πάντα δι' αὐτὴν ἀπεστάλῃ πληρῶσαι, οὕτως ἀνελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. Καὶ ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἰάσῃται σου τὸ πάθος καὶ ζώῃν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχῃται.
- 8 Αὗται μὲν αἱ ἐπιστολαί. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μνήμη μορφῆς ἐν ἐκατέραις αὐτῶν σεσι- 15 ῶπῃται καὶ ἡ τῆς παραδόσεως φήμη καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐπεκράτει πείθειν οὐ- δὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἰκάνωτο συνετοὺς καταλαβεῖν, τὰ Αἰδεσσα ζήλω καιόμε- νοι τὰς ψυχὰς συνελάθηνεν, τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβγαρον πραχθέντα εὗρεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε οὐκ ἀπελπίζοντες κώδιξι. Καὶ ἀνεύρομεν ἐντεύξει πολλῇ σύ- 20 ρα γεγραμμένους συλλαβῇ καὶ φωνῇ, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπερ ἀπῆται ἀναλαβόμενοι, πρὸς τὴν ἐλλάδα διάλεκτον μετεφράσθη. Ὡς καὶ ἀνατέτακται.
- 9 Ἐφη πρὸς Θαδδαῖον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος· ὀρθῶς περὶ τῆς συγκαταβάσε- 25 ως καὶ τῶν παραδόξων θαυμάτων καὶ παθῶν, ταφῆς τε καὶ ἀναστάσεως, τῆς τε πρὸς τὸν φύσει αὐτοῦ πατέρα θαυμαστῆς ἀναλήψεως διηγῆσω μοι, καὶ ὁμολογῶ αὐτὸν θεὸν ἀληθινόν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ δίδαξον, πῶς ἢ ἐν τῇ ὀνό- 25 νη ἀναστήσασά με ἁγία ἐνετυπώθη μορφή, οὐ γὰρ ὀρῶ αὐτὴν γενοῦσαν συνήθεισι χρώμασι καὶ τίς ἢ ταύτης ἰσχὺς ὑπερβάλλουσα, ὅτι ἅμα εἶδον ἡπλωμένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ὄψει σου ἀπηλλάγην τῆς νόσου μου καὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀνέστην, ἰσχὺν τε ἡσθόμην ἀναλαβόμενος, ἣν ἀκμάζων εἶχον τῷ σώματι. Καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος πρὸς ταῦτα· Ἀνανίου, ᾧ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἐπιστεύσατε ζώ- 30 ση φωνῇ εἰπόντος μετὰ τῆς ὑγείας γλίχεσθαι σε ἰδεῖν καὶ τοῦ ὀρωμένου προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμφέρεϊαν, τὸν μὲν φθάσαι πρὸς σέ προετρέψατο

this about you, I concluded that one of two things is true either you are God and came down from heaven to do these things, or you are God's son doing them. I am therefore writing to ask you to come to me and cure the illness I suffer from. I have heard that the Jews are treating
 5 you badly and wish to cause you harm my city is very small, but very noble, enough for both of us.

Jesus' answer to Agbar the ruler, via Ananias the messenger Blessed 7
 are you who have believed in me without having seen me! For it is written of me that those who have seen me will not¹ believe in me, and
 10 those who have not seen will believe and live. As to your writing that I should come to you, I must complete all that I was sent to do here, and thus be taken up to the one who sent me. When I have been taken up I will send you one of my disciples to cure your sickness, and bring life to you and those with you.

15 So much for the letters. Since there is no mention of an image in either 8
 letter and the voice of tradition has not been able to convince wise men or help them understand, we went to Edessa, our souls burning with zeal, hoping to find in the manuscripts there what Abgar had done. And we found a great number of manuscripts written in the Syriac
 20 language, from which we copied what was asked of us and translated it into Greek. This is what it says.

King Abgar said to Thaddaeus, You have taught me correctly about 9
 how Christ came down to earth, about his amazing miracles and his suffering, about his burial and resurrection, and about how he was
 25 miraculously taken up to the Father in his body, and I confess that he is the true God. But tell me how the image on the linen that cured me was made, since I can see it was not produced with ordinary paint, and explain its special strength, since when I saw it unfolded on your face I was cured of my illness and got up from my bed, and I felt the strength
 30 that I had in my body when I was in my prime. And Thaddaeus answered, When Ananias, who you entrusted the letters to, said in hope that apart from your health, you also wished to look upon the likeness of his face as it was seen, Jesus told him to come quickly to you

¹ The manuscript omits the negative $\mu\eta$, necessary to the sense and correctly restored by Dubarle.

μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ σοι ἓνα τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ἐπηγγείλατο πέμψαι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάληψιν, ὅστις εἰμὶ ἐγώ· ὁ δέ, ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸ ἐκούσιον πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀγωνιῶν ἦν τὴν ἀθροπίνην φύσιν πιστούμενος δει-
 λιᾶν τὸν θάνατον· καὶ γὰρ παρ' ᾧ φύσει ζῆν δεδημιούργητο ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῇ·
 ταύτης τῆς ὁθόνης λαβόμενος ἀνεμάξατο οὖς ἀγωνιώντος ὥσει θρόμβους
 αἵματος ἰδρῶτας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπεστάλασεν. Καὶ παραδόξως εὐ-
 θύς, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐσίωσε θεότητος ἰσχύϊ τὸ πᾶν, οὕτως ἀνευ-
 πώσατο ἐν τῇ ὁθόνῃ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μορφῆς αὐτοῦ.

- 10 Καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐνὶ τῶν συμμαθητῶν μου
 παρέθετο ταύτην, Θωμᾶ, ὅτι μὴ παρῶν ἤμην ἐγώ· παρήγγειλε δὲ αὐτῷ
 μεταθεῖναι ταύτην ἐμοί, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάληψιν προαγάγω σοι.
 Ἰσχὺν δέ φης ἔχειν ὑπερβάλλουσιν, καὶ γὰρ ὀρισμῷ δὲ τοῦ ταύτην μορ-
 φωσαμένου, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ σοὶ δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποστείλαντος. Σύνες οὖν ὅτι
 οὐχ ὅπερ ἡ ἐν ἐκείνῳ φύσις ἡτεῖτο ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῇ, οὐδε σὺ
 ὅπερ ἡξίους, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦν σοι ἐλπίς, ἐκείνῃ μὲν ἵνα μὴ μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῇ
 καὶ τὸ πᾶν ζωοποιηθῇ, σοὶ δὲ ἵνα μὴ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετὰ δὲ τῷ ὀρω-
 μένῳ παραδόξῳ προσιόντες ὡς σὺ σφύζονται. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο ἐθέμην ἐν τῇ
 ὄψει μου καὶ πρὸ ῥημάτων δεικνὺς οὐ ἐπεζήτης προσώπου εἶναι ἀπαύγα-
 σμα καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον αὐτό σοι ὀπτάνεται ἢ περ ἐγώ καὶ ὡς μέγιστον ὑπερῶφ
 τῷ τοῦ σώματος μου τιμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μασχάλῃς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μετώπῳ τὰ κάλ-
 λιστα· καὶ ἅμα μὴ τῷ ἐμῷ, τῷ δε ἐπικειμένῳ λογίσασθαι τὸ ἐκπεμπόμενον
 φῶς.
- 11 Ἄλλ' ἐκότεροι μὲν ταῦτα. Παρ' ἡμῖν δ' εὗρηται πρὸς οἷς εἰρήκαμεν κώδι-
 ξιν· ἑξαυτῆς δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τελεσθέντα ἐξαίσια διὰ τῆς ἀγίας μορφῆς,
 ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ κατὰ Χοσρόου τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν· ὃς ἐλπίζων, φησί, τὰ
 Αἰδεσσα κατασχεῖν, ἐλαιῶν ῥίξας καὶ κλάδους πλείονας ἡθροικῶς κύκλῳ
 τοῦ τείχους ἀνέκαυσεν. Ὁ δὲ τότε μητροπολίτης Εὐλάμιος, ἐπιθεὶς ταῖς
 παλάμαις ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐν ᾗ ὁθόνην ἢ ἀχειροποίητος εἰκὼν ἐμεμόρφωτο,
 ὁρώντων τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνω τὰ τεῖχη διώδευεν. Καὶ ὡς μόνον τοῖς ἀνα-

with the letter, in which he promised to send you one of his disciples after his ascension, and I am that disciple. But Jesus, undergoing the passion of his own free will, believing that human nature fears death indeed death comes upon the very nature that was made to live
 5 taking this linen cloth he wiped the sweat that was running down his face like drops of blood in his agony. And miraculously, just as he made everything from nothing in his divine strength, he imprinted the re-ction¹ of his form on the linen.

When he came down the mountain after praying, he gave it to Thomas, 10
 one of my fellow disciples, as I was not there. He told him to give it to me, so that after the ascension I could bring it to you. You say it has a special strength this is by the command of the one who made it, as has been said, and who sent it to you through me. You can therefore see that it is not that the form requested came into being on it, as this did
 15 not seem right, neither what you asked for, but what you did not hope for, so that not only in this nature but together with it are all things given life. Therefore not only would you be saved but also everyone who comes forward to see this miracle after you. I have put it on my face and have shown in silence that this is the radiance of the face you
 20 were seeking. It has made itself more visible to you than I have. And best of all, honouring the top part of my body for the most beautiful part is the face, not that which is below the armpits I attribute the light shining out not to my own face but rather to the face of the one on the cloth .

25 This is what they say, this is what we found in the manuscripts we 11
 mentioned above. Immediately afterwards are the miracles worked by the holy image, among which is the one related to Khusro, king of the Persians. It is said that when he was expecting to capture Edessa, he gathered together a large amount of olive branches and roots in a circle
 30 around the wall and set re to them. The bishop at the time, Eulalius,² placed his hands on the linen where the image not made by human hands had been formed, and went round the top of the city walls so

¹ Greek ἀπαύγασμα the word used most often in this text for the image on the cloth.

² The bishop's name is given as such here and in the *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, written shortly after this sermon. In the Greek Orthodox Synaxarion the name is given as Eulabius. No bishop of either name is known in the history of Edessa, which underlines even further the legendary nature of the story.

καίουσι τὴν πυρκαϊάν τὸ ἀπαύγασμα καθυπέδειξε, βίαιος ἄνεμος ἔπνευσεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἡρμένην φλόγα ὑψοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνακαίοντας ἀνθυπέστρεφεν. Ἡ δὲ τούτους ἐμπίπρα τε καὶ διώδευε καταφλέγουσα.

- 12 Ταῦτα οἱ πατριαρχικῶς ἀρχιερεῶσθαι ἡξιωμένοι, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄνω
 θυσιαστήριον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλήρωμα παραδόσεως χρηματίζουνσιν, ὥς πλή- 5
 ρωμα νόμου κατὰ Παῦλον Χριστός, ὃς λέγει· Οὐκ ἤλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν
 νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι. Εἰ δὲ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ὑπενδύθημεν, ἵνα πληρῶσω-
 μεν τὴν παράδοσιν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περισσὸν ἡγῆμαι τὰ Θεοδώρου πρὸς
 Ἰωάννην ἀντιτιθέμενα τούτοις, ὁμοηχοῦντα ἐν ἅπασι, τῷ ἐπὶ χεῖρας λόγῳ
 συνανατάξασθαι. Καὶ ἅμα οὐ πρὸς συλλαγωγούμενον οὗς πλήθει προσώ- 10
 πων καὶ πατάγῳ φωνῶν ὁ λόγος, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἡξιωμένον εἰσδέχεσθαι, τῶν
 μὴ πλοκαῖς τεχνικαῖς ῥημάτων, ἀληθείας ἀπλότητι δὲ κρατυνόμενον.
- 13 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καιρὸς ἀλαλάξαι μετ' εὐφροσύνης Θεῷ· ὃ Κύριε, μεθ' ὧν ὧν
 ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐδαψιλεύσω ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ νῦν εἰρήνην ἐβράβρευσ- 15
 σας ἀδελφὰ φρονεῖν ἱστορίαν προμηθευσάμενος καὶ παράδοσιν· καὶ οὐκ
 ἔτι μέσον ἡμῶν σχοίη χώραν τὸ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ, οὐκ ἔτι σου τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον
 πολυπραγμονήσει τις σὸν εἶναι καὶ μή. Πάντες οἱ τοῦ ἐνός συνήλθομεν
 πρὸς τὸ ἐν, ὁμόφρονες ἅπαντες, ὁμοκήρυκες. Τίς ὥς σὺ θεὸς ἐκ γενεῶν
 ἀρχαίων ἐν σοφίᾳ πάντα ποιῶν; ἄνυλον ἀπλοῦν τὸ προσεχῶς ἀπὸ σοῦ δεύ- 20
 τερον φῶς, ἔνυλον παράδοξον συμπλοκὴν, τὰς πόρρω σου φύσεις περιε-
 χομένας οὐρανῷ τε καὶ γῇ, ζῶον ἐν ἐκ δύο τῶν ἐναντίων μικτόν, εἰκόνα
 τὸν ἀνθρώπον σὴν, ἐπισιτισμὸν ἐκ νεφῶν, ἐκ πέτρας ἀνίκμιον ποτάμιον
 ῥοῦν· καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ὄντως καινόν, ἀνὴρ ἐν ὑστάτῳ ἔξ ἀπειρογά-
 μου γίνῃ μητρός. Σμήχεις ἡς ἡμφιάσω τὸν ἰδρωτὰ μορφῆς καὶ μεμόρφωται
 τὸ σμηχθέν σὸς ἀπαράλλακτος χαρακτήρ, ὥς ὁ τοῦ Ἀδάμ τῷ ἀνμυθέντι 25

that everybody could see him. As soon as he showed the image to those who were setting fire to the wood, a strong wind blew out of it and drove the rising flames back onto those who were lighting the fire. It burned and consumed them as it spread out.

5 This is what was recorded by those thought worthy, I know well, of
 officiating as patriarchs even at the heavenly altar, since they have given 12
 us the fullness of tradition, just like Christ gives us the fullness of the law
 according to Paul, where he says 'I have not come to destroy the law,
 but rather to fulfil it'.¹ If we² have undertaken a long voyage in order
 10 to fulfil tradition, this is why I have thought it unnecessary to record
 Theodore's³ arguments against John, who is in perfect agreement with
 these present writings. At the same time, this work is not aimed at the
 ear that is captivated by a sea of faces or the loud noise of voices, but
 rather at the ear that is worthy of receiving it, a work not put together
 15 with complex strings of words but rather in the simplicity of truth.

But now it is time to sing loudly and joyfully to God. O Lord, together 13
 with the countless good things you have given us, you have now brought
 us peace, taking heed that history and tradition are sisters in thought.-

Yes and No no longer have a place among us, there will be no
 20 more lengthy debate about whether the image is yours or not. All of us
 who belong to the One have come together as one, all with the same
 thoughts, all proclaiming the same faith. Who is like you, God, doing
 everything in wisdom from times of old? A second light, immaterial
 and unique, came devotedly from you, an unexpected and material
 25 intertwining, natures distantly embracing heaven and earth, one living
 being made of two opposites: your human image, food from the clouds,
 a river flowing from a dry rock, and what is genuinely new under the
 sun, you were born a man in these last times from a virgin mother. You
 wiped clean⁴ the sweat of the nature you had taken on and what was
 30 wiped clean was transformed into an image of your unchanging form,
 just like Adam's form was drawn out of the ground, like the eyes of

¹ The quotation is from the gospel of Matthew, not Paul.

² The manuscript reading is οἱ δὲ. I have followed Dubarle's suggested emendation to εἰ δὲ.

³ Most probably Theodore of Studium, d. 826.

⁴ The manuscript has the optative σμήχῃς, corrected as suggested by Dubarle to σμήχεις.

χοί, ὥς οἱ τῆς φύσεως ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ πτύσματι σφ̄ φυραθείσῃ πληῶ. Καιρὸς ἐλήλυθει τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγεῖν σε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πλήττεται καρδία σκληρὰ Φαραῶ καὶ διαρρήγνυται πέλαγος καὶ κόλπος βύθιος ἀναπτύσσεται καὶ πυρὸς στύλος λαμπαδουχεῖ, ἵνα πρὸς ἦν κατάπαυσιν ἐπηγγείλω διασωθῇ.

5

- 14 Ἦκεν ἡμέρα μετατεθῆναί σου τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον ἀπὸ τὰ Αἶδεσσα πρὸς οὓς εὐδοκεῖς καὶ μαστιγοῦνται τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἡ τῶν ἀπειθούντων φύσις τρέφεσθαι ἦν· καὶ παφλάζων ποτάμιος ῥοῦς Εὐφράτου πειράζοντα συστομίζων λαὸν ὑπτιοῦται, γαληνῆ, πρωρεὺς παράδοξος γίνεται τῇ ἀτερματίστῳ νῆι, οἰακίζει, πηδαλιουχεῖ, ὥς τοῦτον ἡττηθέντα εἰπεῖν· Ἐγνων νῦν ὅτι θέ- 10 λει θεὸς ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑμᾶς, λαβόντες πορεύεσθε. Καὶ φρυκτωροῦσι κηρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ἀστραπαὶ τὴν ἐν ἧ τρίβον ἀγαλλόμενον ἤγετο ἕως οἷς ἐχρῆν κατηντήκει συναριθμεῖσθαι καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι.

- 15 Ἔτεσι πλείστοις παρ' ἄλλοφύλοις ἡ πάλαι σου κιβωτὸς ἐκεκράτητο, προ- νοία σου ἀνασφύζεται καὶ πρόσθεν χορεύει βασιλεὺς ἡγαπημένος σοι ὁ 15 παῖς σου Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶται τῇ ταύτης καταπαύσει ὁ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ. Ἐνιαυτοῖς πλείοσι παρ' οἷς ἐδόκει σοι ἀνεκτὸν παρῶκει σου τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἦνῳται νῦν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ σου τιμωμένοις λαοῦ, τῷ καλάμῳ, τοῖς ἥλοις σου, τῷ σταυρῷ, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἡλεήθημεν, οἷς ἀεὶ κραταιοῦμεθα. 20

- 16 Καὶ προπορεύεται ὠραῖός σοι βασιλεὺς τῇ πεξοπορίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τοῦ κράτους στέφεσι καλλυνόμενος. Πρόσθεν ὁ πατριάρχης πυρσός, τῷ πυρρίῳ τοῦ θυμιάματος εἵργων πιμπρᾶν τὸν ἐμπυριστὴν ἄγγελον ὥς Ἀαρών, ὅσοι τε τοῦ βήματος ὠραίοις ποσὶ τὸ τῆς γῆς περιπτυσσόμενοι πρόσωπον, εἰρήνην τὴν σὴν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ λαμπάδων ὑπὸ λαοῦ ψάμμον τῷ πλή- 25 θει νικῶντος παράλιον, ἀνακαιόμενον φῶς, κρύπτον ἡλίου μαρμαρυγᾶς, τάξεις τε πλείοται προπόμπιοι μετὰ συνέσεως ἁσματίζουσαι τοῖς εἰς μίαν συνάπτουσι κυριότητα τὸ τρισάγιον ἀμιλλώμεναι καὶ ταῖς ἐν αἷς χορίαρχοι ἰσοφωνεῖν ἐκυμβάλιζον· προφήτης τε καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας Δαυὶδ ὑπηγεῖν ἐκίνει τὴν φόρμιγγα πρὸς ὃ τῷ πνεύματι ἐρρυθμίζετο. 30

nature in the folds of the kneaded earth. The time has come to lead your people Israel out of Egypt, Pharaoh's hard heart has been smitten, the sea has been divided and its depths have been laid bare, a column of fire leads the way so that Israel may be saved in¹ the repose you have
 5 promised.

The day has come on which your image has been brought from Edessa 14
 to the people you favour, and the things with which the nature of the unfaithful should have been fed have been punished. The raging river Euphrates, closing the mouth of the vexatious people, is level and
 10 calm, and miraculously becomes a helmsman to the ungoverned ship; it steers, it pilots, so that the people who have lost the Image say, I know now that God wants you to have it, so take it and leave. The ashes of countless candles mark the way along which it is led in honour, until it reaches the objects with which it is to be counted together and glorified.

15 For many years your ancient ark was in the hands of the Philistines, but 15
 it was saved by your providence. Your beloved king, your servant David danced in front of it and all Israel rejoiced in its resting place. For many years your radiance resided with those you tolerated, now it has been united to those things held in honour by your chosen people the cane,
 20 your nails, the cross and the other objects through which we receive mercy and in which we are always strengthened.

The radiant emperor marches in front, beautified more by walking on 16
 foot than by the crowns of state. The patriarch is in front, dressed in red, by the fire of incense stopping the every angel spreading fire, just
 25 like Aaron. Those who are of the sanctuary embrace the face of the earth with their beautiful feet, announcing your peace. There is light from the torches of the people, more than the grains of sand on the shore, blocking out the light of the sun, many groups of escorts, all singing in harmony, contending with those related to the one Lordship
 30 thrice holy and with those groups in which choir-leaders play the cymbals together. The great king and prophet David struck the lyre in echo as he was inspired by the Spirit.

¹ Dubarle's edition has πρὸν whereas the manuscript has πρὸς.

- 17 Τί τᾱλλα; ἔχειν τὴν ἱστορίαν εὐδόκησας νῦν ἡμᾶς τῇ παραδόσει συνάδου-
σαν, καὶ τῷ τῆς μορφῆς παραδόξῳ τῷ πνεύματι συναστράπτομεν. Καὶ εἴ
τι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄνωθεν τῆς εἰκόνης λαμπρὸν καὶ μαργαρωδὲς ἐμόλυνε ῥύπα-
σμα, τὸ μὲν ἀποσιμῶμεν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ χιόνα, ὑπὲρ λίθον σάπφειρον ὠραί-
ζομεν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι ῥύπος ἁμαρτιῶν, ὃς χάριτι σῇ καὶ δάκρυσι μετανοίας 5
οὐκ ἀπολούεται. Ἐγγὺς τὸ ῥῆμα· Καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπει-
νωμένην, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐξουθενῶ. Ἀλλ' ὃ σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας Χριστοῦ,
καιρὸς ὑμῖν βουλευσασθαι τὸ εἰκός· μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν τὴν οὕτω δωρεὰν ἡμεῖς
αὐτοῖς πονησώμεθα ἐν τῷ μὴ ἀφιέναι τοῖς ἡμῖν ὀλίγα πταίουσιν, αὐτοὶ
προκολπώσαμενοι τῶν πλεόνων τὴν ἄφεισιν. Τίς γὰρ ὅρος ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι 10
πρὸς θεόν; Ἄφες ἡμῖν ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν. Ὡς
παραδόξου καταλλαγῆς· ἄφες μεγάλα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ὡς ὀλίγα ἡμεῖς
οὐτιδανά, καὶ ἀφίησι, μὴ τῇ ἀντιδόσει πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν ἀντίδοσιν,
παραβάτης γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας γενέσθαι νομοθεσίας ἀδύνατον, ὅτι καὶ δίδω-
σιν ἥδιον ἢ λαμβάνουσιν ἕτεροι. 15
- 18 Ὁ εἰς ἀγαθότητα ἔτοιμος καὶ θάπτον συγκατιῶν τοῖς, ὡς λόγος, λῶμα
ὑπάρχουσιν καὶ οὐδέν, οἶδεν τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὅτι ἐδημιούργη-
σεν, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐφόρεσεν· καὶ ἐξ ὧν πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεὶς βοηθεῖν
δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις ἡμῖν, ἔφη τοῦτο στόμα Χριστοῦ, οὗ κατὰ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον τὸν κόσμον κρινεῖ ὁ θεός. 20
- 19 Μὴ τοίνυν προδῶμεν ὅκνῳ τὴν χάριν, τῷ παραδόξῳ δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἐλαμ-
φθεῖμεν, ἵνα τῆς πρώτης ἐγγὺς τοῦτο ἀγαθότητος ὃν μεσιτεύῃ καὶ ἡμᾶς
γενέσθαι πλησίον αὐτῆς, ἀποφασίστως ὅπερ ἤμεν γενώμεθα πρὶν τοῦ ξύ-
λου γεγεύσαμεθα, πρὶν φύλλοις κρύπτειν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐμυχανώμεθα.
Γενησώμεθα δέ, εἰ τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προτιμῶμεν ὡς νουνεχεῖς. 25
Θεῖον δὲ ἀληθῶς τὸ τὰς γραφὰς ἐρευνᾶν, ὅπερ ἐστι πρόξενον τῶν ὑπὲρ
ἔπαινον ἀγαθῶν. Μαρτύριον ἢ τῆς ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἱστορίας ἀνέυρεσις, ἢ τοῖς
ἐντεῦξαι τὰς θείας ψηλαφῶσι γραφὰς πεφανέρωται ὡς εἰκός, εἰ τις οὖν
φροντὶς ἡμῖν γενέσθαι θεοὺς καὶ ὑψίστου υἱοὺς καθαρότητι ἢ καθάρσει,
ὧν χωρὶς οὐδεὶς τὸν Κύριον ὄψεται, ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις διηνεκῶς ὁμιλῶμεν 30
γραφαῖς.

What else? You will now agree that our story fits in with tradition, and 17
 we glow in the spirit at the paradox of the image. If there is any stain on
 the brilliant light of the image in us from above we will make it whiter
 than snow, brighter than a sapphire. There is no stain from sin that
 5 cannot be washed away by your grace and by the tears of repentance.
 The saying is not far away I will not reject a contrite and humble
 heart. But, o portion of Christ's heritage, it is time for you to decide
 what is right. We should not work to obtain such a gift to our own
 detriment by not forgiving those who have offended us a little, when
 10 we have been forgiven much more. For what is our rule for praying to
 God? Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us. What
 a wonderful exchange! Forgive us great sins without number and we
 forgive others insignificant things. And he does forgive, not looking too
 closely at what we deserve for our deeds, for he cannot break his own
 15 law, which he gives more gladly¹ than some receive.

The one who is prepared to come down quickly for our good, for 18
 those who are nothing, the mere border of his robe, is aware of the
 weakness of our nature, as he made it and wore it. As he has undergone
 temptation, he is able to help us in temptation. This comes from the
 20 mouth of Christ, according to whose gospel God judges the world.

Let us not betray grace by neglect, let us rather be lit up with the 19
 wonder of grace, so that this, being near the first goodness, may act
 as mediator and bring us near too, so that we can unhesitatingly
 be where we were before we tasted the fruit of the tree, before we
 25 contrived to cover our shame with leaves. And we will become so if
 we value the things of God over those of man, as sensible people do. It
 is without doubt a divine trait to search the scriptures, which helps
 obtain riches beyond compare. Witness to this is the representation
 at hand, which was fittingly revealed to those who search the divine
 30 scriptures in prayer. If we care about becoming gods or sons of the
 Most High through purity or purification for without these nobody
 will see the Lord let us continuously engage with the divinely inspired
 scriptures.

¹ Following Dubarle's emendation ἥδιον for the manuscript reading ἰδιον.

- 20 Ὡς γάρ ἡλίου ὑπὸ γῆν ὄντος, ἀδύνατον τὰς κόρας τῶν ὁμμάτων ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτίσι μὴ βαλλομένας φωτίζεσθαι, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν ἔνδον ἡμῖν νοητὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δύνασθαι τὸ συμφέρον ὁρᾶν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν θείων φωταυγείας γραφῶν. Διὰ τοι αὐτὸς ἐντέλλεται ὁ φύσει Χριστὸς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρευνᾶν, ᾧ κλῖναι πεισθῶμεν μετὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ 5 τῇ τῆς γραφῆς ἀβύσσῳ θεοφορουμένη σπουδῇ παραμείνομεν ὅπως, ὡς ὁ ἱερολογῶν φησὶν, ἄβυσσος, τὴν γραφὴν οὕτω καλῶν, ἄβυσσον ἐπικαλεῖται τὴν τῶν θεωριῶν δηλονότι, ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπαντλῶμεν δεξαμεναῖς καὶ ποταμούς ζῶντος ὕδατος ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας ὑδρορορήσωμεν.
- 21 Ὁ καὶ νῦν θελήσασιν αὐτίκα καταρτισθῆσεται, εἰ τὸ ὑπερφυῆς ἀπαύγα- 10 σμα, οἷς ἰστόρηται κάλλεσι ὀπτρισόμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ οἷς ἡ γραφικὴ, θύραν τῷ νῷ δαψιλευομένη ἀναλογίζεσθαι τὸ πρωτότυπον, τὰς εἰκόνας μορφοῖ, τούτοις καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ἐξωγράφηται. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποικίλαις ὥραϊζούσαις χροιαῖς τῆς μορφῆς τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν συνίστησιν, ἐρυθήματι φρυκτωροῦσα ταῖς παρειαῖς ἀνθηρῷ, ἐρεῦθῳ τὴν τῶν χειλέων περιπτύξιν, ἄνθει 15 τὸν ἰουλον προσφυεῖ, στίλβοντι μέλανι τὴν ὀφρύν, κάλλεσι χροίων τὸν ὅλον ὁμοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν, συστάσει ἑτεροῖα τὰ ὧτά τε καὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν, κρᾶσει ποιότητων τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ χαρακτηῆρος ὑποσκιάζουσα, τὴν κάτω γένυν περιβολῇ στημόνων τριχοειδῶν.
- 22 Τὸ δέ, πᾶς ἐνθεασθήτω τῷ διηγήματι, μόνοις ἐναγωνίοις ἰδρῶσι προσώ- 20 που ζωαρχικοῦ τοῖς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατασταλάξασιν αἵματος ἐντετύπωται καὶ δακτύλῳ θεοῦ. Αὗται τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον ὄντως Χριστοῦ αἱ χρωματουργήσασαι ὡραιότητες, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ κατεσταλάχθησαν ῥάνισι πλευρᾶς ἰδίας ἐγκεκαλλώπισται. Ἄμφω δογμάτων μεστά· αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖ, ἐν- 25 ταῦθα ἰδρῶς καὶ μορφή. Ὡς πραγμάτων ἰσότητος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ πηγὴ ζῶντος ὕδατος θεθεώρηται καὶ ποτίζει, μορφουργῶν διδάσκουσα ἰδρώτων, ὧν ἡ ἐκάστου τῆς φύσεως ὑετίζει ὀσφὺς εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν μορφουργόν, ὥσπερ καὶ κρήνηνάματα βλύζουσα ὡς ἀπὸ προχοῶν, αἱ τὸ ξύλον ἀρδεύουσι τῆς ζωῆς εἰς δύο μεριζομένη ἀρχάς, εἰς 30 τὴν ἀναγράφουσαν θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ παραδόξῳ δημιουργῆσαι πρᾶγμα ἐξαισίον ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ συστήσαι εἶδος περιγραπτὸν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ εἰς τὴν λόγῳ ἐνδιαθέτω θεοσπίζου-

Just as it is impossible, when the sun has set, for the pupils of the eyes 20
to be lit up if they are not struck by the sun's rays, so our inner spiritual
eye of the soul cannot see what is right without the brightness of the
divine scriptures. Christ, who is good by nature, tells us to search the
5 scriptures, and let ourselves be persuaded to incline our intellect with
our ear to him, and remain in the abyss of scripture with God-given
zeal, since as the theologian says, abyss (this he calls the scripture) calls
unto abyss (that of contemplation). So may we draw on the reservoirs
of the soul and flow with rivers of living water from deep within.

10 He will do this straight away for us if we so desire, if we look upon the 21
radiance and the immense beauty it is depicted with. For the radiance
was not depicted with the techniques of the art of painting, which
fashions images, providing a door for the mind to consider the original
images.¹ Painting establishes a complete form with various beautiful
15 colours, representing the cheeks with a blooming red, the encircling of
the lips with red, it paints the beard with flowery gold, the eyebrow
with shining black, the whole eye in beautiful colours, the ears and
nose in a different way, overshadowing the banks of the imprint with a
compound of qualities, and showing the chin with hair.

20 This reflection, however may everyone be inspired with the expla- 22
nation has been imprinted only by the sweat from the face of the ruler
of life, falling like drops of blood, and by the anger of God. For these
are indeed the beauties that have coloured the true imprint of Christ,
because that from which they dripped was also embellished by drops
25 from his own side. Both are highly instructive blood and water there,
here sweat and image. O equality of happenings, since both have their
origin in the same person. The source of living water can be seen and
it gives us water, showing us that the origin of the image made by sweat
is in fact of the same nature as the origin of that which makes the liquid
30 flow from the side. This is just like a spring pouring out fresh water
which waters the tree of life from two principles. The one records God
and man in the same person, on the one hand marvellously produc-
ing something praiseworthy and superhuman, and on the other hand
bringing about a circumscribed form like a man. The other principle
35 ordains with which colours the one made in the image and likeness (of

¹ The manuscript has the senseless $\mu\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\tau$, corrected by Dubarle to $\mu\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\tau\omicron$.

σαν οἷοις κοσμεῖν χρώμασι δεῖ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. Καὶ γὰρ ἵνα μετάγοιτο πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐκ τῶν ἰδρώτων τοῦτο ἦς φορέσαι μορφῆς ἡξίωσεν αὐτουργεῖ, θεοπρεπεῖ ὄντως νομοθετῶν ὑποδείγματι τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκόνα νοεράν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ζωτικοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἀγαθοδότης ἐκολπωσάμεθα, μὴ ἄλλοθεν εἰδοποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ 5 ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν δέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἡνωμένης αὐτῷ ἰδρώτων αὐτός, οἷόν τισι προσφύεσι βαφαῖς. Τίνες αἱ ἐφ' ἡμῖν; Καθαρότης, ἀπάθεια, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίωσις καὶ ὅσα τοῦ τοιούτου γένους εἰσὶ, δι' ὧν μορφοῦται ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁμοίωσις. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μὴ μεμορφωμένη εἰκὼν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν πρωτότυπον μίμνησιν καὶ ἄλλο τι 10 καὶ οὐκ εἰκὼν ὀνομάζεται.

- 23 Ἄλλ' ὦ Πατὴρ ἀκηράτου Υἱὲ ἀκήρατε, Λόγε, σοφία, εἰκὼν, ἐκμαγεῖον, ἀπαύγασμα, καλῶ σε γὰρ ταῦτα, ὅτι καὶ ἀγιάζομαι τῇ μνήμῃ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν εἰς ταὐτὸν φερουσῶν ἄλλων σου κλήσεων, τοῦ ὑπεράνω παντὸς ὀνόματός τε καὶ πράγματος, ἴδε τὸν στέφανον, ὃν ἡ βασιλέως ἀνατίθηναι 15 εὐσεβεστάτη σπουδὴ τῷ τοῦ προσώπου σου ἀπανγασματι, καὶ ὡς τοῖς αὐτοκρατορικοῖς καὶ τοῖς τῶν χαρίτων ὠράϊζε διαδήμασι· τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἧ νυμφίος ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν εὐπρέπειαν εἶ, μὴ κάμοις εἶναι σκοπός, τὸν περιούσιον κατὰ τῶν βλασφημούντων δυνάμου στρατόν, τοὺς εὐσεβεῖ πεποιεῖται πρὸς σὲ ἀτενίζοντας ἐλευθέρου πασῶν ἀναγκῶν, τὸ πρωϊνόν 20 σου ἔλεος ἐδαψίλευε πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἵνα δόξαν εὐχάριστον ἀναφέρωμεν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ σοὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἀμήν.

God) should be adorned. And for the prototype to be transferred to the likeness, he does this himself with the sweat of the human form he deigned to bear and, as be ts the divinity, he decreed that the intellectual image in us, the one we had breathed into us by the
 5 life-giving visitation of the spirit as a good gift, should not be formed from another source, just as he did not form his own image from anywhere else, but rather from a human nature, as it were from the sweat of the form he had taken on, with exactly the right colours. And what is this nature? Purity, calmness, rejection of all evil and whatever
 10 else belongs to this class of things, through which similarity to the divinity is formed. Indeed, an image not formed by such things is not like the prototype, and is called something else, not an image.

But o pure Son of the pure Father, Word, Wisdom, image, imprint, 23
 radiance for I call you all of these things as I am sancti ed by recall-
 15 ing them and the other similar names of you who are above all names and deeds behold the crown which the pious zeal of the Emperor places on the radiance of your face and along with the imperial crowns, beautify it with diadems of grace on it like those of absolute sovereignty. Do not become weary of being the guardian of the church whose bride-
 20 groom you are beyond all beauty. Strengthen your special army against blasphemers, free from all necessity those who look to you with pious trust and give freely of your morning mercy to us all so that we can gratefully offer glory to the Father, to you the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for evermore. Amen.

The Synaxarion

Codices

S	Berlin 219 saec. XII-XIII f. 284b - 288b
Mc	Paris 223 saec. XIV (1301) ¹
ML ₁	Megistes Lavras 821 saec. XVII f. 232a - 235a
ML ₂	Megistes Lavras 830 saec. XIV f. 251b - 256a
ML ₃	Megistes Lavras 851 saec. XVII (1655) f. 135a - 141a
ML ₄	Megistes Lavras 895 saec. XV f. 128b - 133b
ML ₅	Megistes Lavras 1157 saec. XV f. 193a - 202a
ML ₆	Megistes Lavras 1162 saec. XIV f. 328a - 332a
ML ₇	Megistes Lavras 1959 saec. XV (1435) f. 417b - 422a
Iv ₁	Iveron 431 saec. XIV f. 170a - 172a
Iv ₂	Iveron 433 saec. XV f. 215a - 218a
Iv ₃	Iveron 573 saec. XVIII f. 261a - 264b
Iv ₄	Iveron 788 saec. XV f. 211b - 215a
St	Stavroniketa 44 saec. XIII f. 195a - 199b
Ced	Georgios Cedrenus, <i>Compendium historiarum</i> ²

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἡ ἀνάμνησις τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου μορφῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἑδεσηνῶν πόλεως εἰς ταύτην τὴν θεοφύλακτον καὶ βασιλίδαν τῶν πόλεων ἀνακομισθείσης.

1 4 om. Ced 1 Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ] om. S, Τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμέρᾳ ML₇, Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ἐκκαίδεκάτῃ ML₁ ML₆, Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, ις Iv₃ | ἡ om. ML₁ | ἀχειροποιήτου] ἀχειροστεύκτου ML₇ Iv₂ Iv₄ 2 καὶ θεοῦ om. ML₃ Iv₁ Iv₄ St | καὶ σωτῆρος om. Mc 3 εἰς ταύτην τὴν θεοφύλακτον καὶ βασιλίδαν] εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν ML₆ Iv₃ | θεοφύλακτον καὶ om. ML₁ | βασιλίδαν] add. ταύτην Mc | τῶν πόλεων] πόλιν S Mc ML₂ ML₃ ML₄ ML₇ Iv₁ Iv₂ Iv₄ St 3 4 ἀνακομισθείσης] ἀνακομισθήσις Iv₄, add. δεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς μικρὰ τινα διαλαβεῖν S

¹ Edited by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis Synaxariis selectis*. Opera et studio Hippolyti Delehaye (Brussels 1902, reprinted 1985), 893 904.

² Edited by I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, 2 vols. *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn 1838 1839), 308 315.

The Synaxarion

On the same day, we recall how the form of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was not made by human hands, was brought from the city of Edessa to this divinely protected queen of cities.

ἐν σινδόνι ζῶν ἐξεμάξω σὴν θέαν
 ὁ νεκρὸς εἰσδὺς ἔσχατον τὴν σινδόνα.
 ἀχειρότευκτον χειρότευκτος σὸν τύπον
 φέρει κέραμος, παντοτεύκτα Χριστέ μου.

- 1 Τῆς αὐτοαγαθότητος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰη- 5
 σοῦ Χριστοῦ πολλά θαύματα ποιῶντος, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις
 ἀναγράφεται καὶ τῆς φήμης πανταχόσε διατρεχούσης, ἤκουσε ταῦτα καὶ
 Αὔγαρος ὁ τοπάρχης Ἐδέσης καὶ ἐπεθύμει τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χρι-
 στὸν ἰδεῖν αὐταῖς ὄψεαι καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο διὰ τὸ ἀνιάτοις αὐτὸν νοσήμασι
 περιπεσεῖν· λέπρα γὰρ μέλαινα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἐξαν- 10
 θήσασα ἐδαπάνη τοῦτον καὶ κατήσθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ ἀρθρίτις χρονία καὶ
 πονηρὰ τοῦτον ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀμορφία αὐτῷ αἰτία καὶ ταλαιπωρί-
 ας ἐγένετο, ἡ δὲ ὀδυνῶν δρμειῶν καὶ ἀλγηδόνων πρόξενος ἦν· διὰ ταῦτα
 ἀπρόϊτός τε καὶ ἀθέατος ἦν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.
- 2 Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ σεπτοῦ πάθους τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρι- 15
 στοῦ ἐπιστολὴν γράψας ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὴν δι' Ἀνανίου, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ
 τὴν τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τρίχα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἀπλῶς τὸν σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ
 χαρακτήρα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἰστορῆσαι καὶ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν τοιαύ-
 την τοῦ Χριστοῦ μορφὴν· ἡπίστατο γὰρ ἄκρως τὴν ζωγραφικὴν ἐπιστήμην
 ὁ Ἀνανίας. 20

1 4 om. Ced S Mc 1 ἐν σινδόνι] στίχοι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον μανδήλιον. ἐν σινδόνι ... Iv2,
 ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ ἐν σινδόνι St | σὴν] τὴν Iv1 2 σινδόνα] σιδόνα Iv2 3 ἀχειρό-
 τευκτον] εἰς τὸ κεραμίδιον. ἀχειρότευκτον Iv2, Κεράμιον ἀχειρότευκτον St | χειρότευ-
 κτος] χειρότευκτος om. ML4, χειρότευκτον Iv1 5 αὐτοαγαθότητος] ἀγαθότητος Iv2 |
 κυρίου καὶ om. ML7 | καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ om. Mc ML1 Iv3, μεγάλου om. ML2 ML6
 6 ποιῶντος] ἐνεργούντος Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | καθὼς ἐν τοῖς] ἐν τῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς
 συναναστrophῇ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 7 πανταχόσε] πανταχόθεν S, πανταχοῦσε
 Iv2 | διατρεχούσης] διαδραμούσης Iv2 8 Αὔγαρος τοπάρχης ML7, τοπάρχης Αὔγα-
 ρος Iv1 | πόλεως Ἐδέσης S 10 μέλαινα ML4 11 τοῦτον] τοῦτο S Mc ML1 ML2
 ML4 ML7 Iv3 St | ἀρθρίτις] ἀρθροειτικὴ ML5, ἀρθροειτικὴ Iv2 12 τοῦτον] τόνδε S |
 ἐπολιόρκει] κατατρώχουσα ἐβασάνιζε Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 13 ὀδυνῶν] ὀδυνῶν St |
 δρμειῶν] δρμύτατων Mc ML1 ML6, δρμύτατων Iv3, δρμύων Iv1, δρμύων ML4 Iv4 |
 ἀλγηδόνος ML5 Iv2 14 ἀπρόϊτός] ἀπρόϊτός Iv1, ἀπρόϊτός ML1 ML2 | καὶ ἀθέατος
 om. ML2 ML3 | ὑπηκόοις] ἐπικόοις St 15 σεπτοῦ] ἀγίου ML5 | κυρίου] σωτῆρος
 S, add. καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ML5 16 ἀπέστειλε Iv2 | δι' Ἀνανίου] διὰ τοῦ Ἀνανίου
 ML5, διὰ Ἀνανίου Mc 18 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν ML2 18 19 τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 μορφὴν] τὸ ἐκτύπωμα Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 19 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου S ML5 |
 ἄκρως] ἀκριβῶς ML2 ML3 ML7 | ἄκρως τὴν ζωγραφικὴν ἐπιστήμην] τὴν ζωγραφικὴν
 τέχνην ἄκρως ML5 | ἐπιστήμην] τέχ Iv2 (lacuna, cf. ML5)

In life you wiped your form onto a linen cloth
In death you were placed in the final linen shroud.
A manmade tile bears your form, not made by human hands,
My Christ, creator of all.

- 5 As it is written in the Holy Gospels, when the goodness of our Lord 1
and great God and Saviour Jesus Christ was working many wonders
and his fame rapidly spreading everywhere, Abgar the ruler of Edessa
heard about these things and wished to see our Lord Jesus Christ with
his own eyes. He could not do so as he suffered from incurable illnesses.
10 Black leprosy had spread over all his body and was gradually eating
him away, and he was also affected by severe chronic arthritis. The one
was for him a source of unsightliness and wretchedness, the other a
cause of sharp and piercing pain. As a result of this he never went out
and none of his subjects ever saw him.
- 15 During the days of the holy passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, Abgar 2
wrote a letter and sent it to Jesus with Ananias. He told Ananias to
make a drawing of Jesus, showing in all detail his age, his hair, his face
and his whole bodily appearance, as Ananias knew the art of painting
very well.

- 3 Ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ἐπὶ λέξεων περιεῖχε τάδε· Αὐγάρως τοπάρχης πόλεως Ἐδέ-
σης, Ἰησοῦ σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἱατρῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Ἦκου-
σταί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ, καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱαμάτων, ὡς ἄνευ φαρμάκων ὑπὸ σοῦ
γενομένων. Ὡς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπα-
τεῖν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐλαύνεις 5
καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις.
Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο·
ἢ ὅτι θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ ποιῶν ταῦτα, ἢ θεός. Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην
σου σκυλῆναι καὶ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω θεραπεύσης.
Καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται 10
κακῶσαί σε. Πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοί ἐστι καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκέσει ἀμ-
φοτέροις ἡμῖν τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας ἀπελθὼν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ δοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
ἦν ἐπιμελῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζων, μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι
διὰ τὸ συρρεῦσαν πλῆθος ἐπὶ τινὰ πέτραν μικρὸν τῆς γῆς ἀνεστηκυῖαν 15
ἀναβάς ἐκαθέσθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνῳ μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τῷ δὲ χάρτῃ
τὴν χεῖρα προσήρειδε καὶ τὴν τοῦ φαινομένου μετέγραφεν ὁμοιότητα καὶ
οὐδαμῶς ἡδύνατο τὴν μορφήν αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν διὰ τὸ ἑτέρα καὶ ἑτέρα
ὄψει φαίνεσθαι καὶ παρηλλαγμένη θεωρία.

1 ἐπὶ λέξεων περιεῖχε τάδε] εἶχεν οὕτως ἀντολεξί Mc ML1 ML6 ML7 Iv3 (εἶχε ML7) |
λέξεων] om. Mc, λέξεως S Iv4, τοῦ Αὐγάρου κατὰ ῥῆμα διέξεισι τάδε Ced | ὁ τοπάρχης
ML5 2 Ἱεροσολύμοις] πόλει Ἱεροσολύμων Ced, add. χαίρειν ML2 ML3 ML4 Iv1 Iv4
Ced 2 3 Ἦκουσταί] Ἦκουστέ St 3 μοι] μου Iv3 4 γενομένων] γινομένων ML1
ML5 ML6 ML7 Ced | λόγος] λόγῳ Iv1 4 5 χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις
om. Mc ML1 ML6 ML7 Iv3 | περιπατεῖν] add. κατασκευάζεις S² ML1 ML6 ML7
Iv3, add. παρασκευάζεις ML5 5 λεπροὺς] καὶ λεπροὺς S ML2 ML3 Iv1 Iv4 |
καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα om. ML5 | καὶ δαίμονας om. Ced | ἐλαύνεις] ἀπελαύνεις Iv2,
λόγῳ ἀπελαύνεις Ced 7 καὶ (2) om. ML7 | πάντα om. ML2 ML3 Iv4 | περὶ] παρὰ
ML5 7 8 τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο· ἢ om. Ced 8 υἱὸς θεοῦ ML3, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ S |
θεοῦ υἱὸς ... ἢ θεός] θεὸς εἶ καὶ καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ,
ποιῶν ταῦτα Ced | ἐδεήθην] add. τῆς σῆς ἰσχύος καὶ ἀγαθότητος 9 σκυλῆναι ML6 |
πρὸς με] πρὸς ἡμᾶς ML2 | καὶ om. Ced | ὃ ἔχω] ἡμῶν ML3 | θεραπεύσης] add. καὶ
μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐνταῦθα συνέση S² 10 γὰρ om. ML1 | οἱ om. S ML2 ML3 ML4 Iv4 |
σου] σε S 11 κακῶσε ML4 | σε om. ML4 ML7 | Πόλις ... ἐστι] Πόλις δέ μοι ἐστι
μικροτάτη Ced | δέ] οὖν ML7 | μικροτάτη ML5 Iv2 | ἐστιν S Mc | καὶ σεμνή om.
Ced | ἐξαρκεῖ S, ἀρκέσει ML5 Iv2 11 12 ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις Iv1 12 τοῦ κατοικεῖν
ἐν εἰρήνῃ om. Ced, add. ἔρωσο post ἡμῖν | κατοικεῖν] add. ἐν αὐτῇ S 13 Ἀνανίας]
ταχυδρόμος Ced | ἐν] εἰς ML1 ML6 Iv3 14 ἀτενίζων εἰς αὐτὸν Iv1 Iv4, ἀτενίζων
αὐτῷ Ced | μὴ δυνάμενος δέ] καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος μὴ δέ ML5 Iv2 | γενέσθαι] στήναι
Ced 15 συρρεῦσαι Iv4 | ὑπερανεστηκυῖαν Mc ML1 ML2 ML3 ML4 ML6 Iv3 Iv4
16 ἐκείνῳ] ἐκίνει ML5 Iv2 | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς] τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς Iv3 | τῷ] τὸ St 17 τὴν]
τὴν τὴν ML5 | μετέγραφεν] κατέγραφεν Iv4 18 τὴν μορφήν αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸν Ced |
καταλαβεῖν] καταλαβὴν ML4 19 καὶ παρηλλαγμένη θεωρία om. Ced | παρηλλαγμὴ
Iv1 | θεωρία] θεωρίαν δεικνύειν Iv2

The text of the letter was as follows. Abgar the ruler of the city of 3
Edessa to Jesus the saviour, the good healer who has appeared in the
city of Jerusalem. I have heard about you and your cures which you
carry out without medicine. I am told that you make the blind see, the
5 lame walk, you cleanse lepers and cast out unclean spirits and demons,
you cure those who are tortured by lengthy illnesses, and raise the dead.
Having heard all this about you, I have come to the conclusion that one
of the following things is true either you are the Son of God doing
these things, or God. I have therefore written to you to ask you to take
10 the trouble to come to me to cure the sickness I have. I have also heard
that the Jews are murmuring against you and want to do you harm. I
have a small but noble city, which is enough for both of us to live in
peace.

Ananias went to Jerusalem and gave the letter to the Lord. He was 4
15 staring at him but could not get near him due to the crowd that had
gathered, and so he he climbed up onto a little rock that stood out from
the ground and sat down. Ananias was kept his eyes on Jesus and the
papyrus in his hand, trying to paint his likeness, but he could not take
down his form at all as Jesus kept looking here and there and moving
20 his face from one side to another.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ κύριος, ὡς ἄτε κρυφίων γνώστης καὶ καρδιῶν ἐξεταστής, τὴν ἐνθύμῳ αὐτοῦ γνούς, ἤτησε νίψασθαι καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ ῥάκος τετράδιπλον καὶ ἀπεμάξατο νιψάμενος τὴν ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ θείαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄψιν. Ὅθεν ἐντυπωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς θείας μορφῆς καὶ προσόψεως ἐν τῇ σινδόνι ἐπέδωκε τῷ Ἀνανία· ἀπελθὼν ἀπόδος αὐτὸ τῷ 5 ἀποστείλαντί σε· εἰπὼν, γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσας οὕτως·
- 6 Μακάριος εἶ, Αὔγαρε, πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοὺς ἑωρακότας με μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες με αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται. Περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν 10 πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι' αὐτὴν ἀπεστάλῃ ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαί με καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με Πατέρα. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναληφθὼ ἀποστελῶ σοι ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὀνόματι Θαδδαῖον, ὅστις καὶ τὸ πάθος σου θεραπεύσει καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ εἰρήνην σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχοι καὶ ποιήσει τῇ πόλει σου τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα 15 τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς.

1 ὡς om. ML6 Iv3 | κρυφίων γνώστης] κρυφιογνώστης Mc, κρυφιογνώστης ὧν ML6 Iv3, κρυφίων γνώσεων Ced | καρδιῶν ἐξεταστής] τῶν καρδιῶν ἐταστής Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 1 2 γνούς τὴν ἐνθύμῳ αὐτοῦ S Ced, add. μετεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν Ced 2 ἤτησε] ζητήσας Ced | νίψασθαι Iv1 3 ῥάκος Iv2 | τετράδιπλον] add. μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι Ced | καὶ] ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ced 3 4 ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ θείαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄψιν] αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ θείαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄψιν ML2 ML3, ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ θείαν ὄψιν ἐν αὐτῷ ML1 ML6 Iv3, ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ θείαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς θείας μορφῆς ML4¹, ἄχραντον καὶ θείαν αὐτοῦ ὄψιν Ced 4 5 Ὅθεν ... Ἀνανία] ἥς δὴ καὶ ἐντυπωθείσης τῷ ῥάκῳ (ῥάκει Mc ML1 ML6) ἐπέδωκε τὸ ῥάκος τῷ Ἀνανία Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3, καὶ ὃ τοῦ θαύματος, παρενθὺς ἐνετυπώθη τῆς αὐτοῦ μορφῆς τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα ἐν τῇ σινδόνι, ἦν καὶ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀνανία Ced 4 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ S Mc ML2 ML3 ML4 ML5 ML7 Iv2 Iv4 St 5 προσόψεως] add. ὃ τοῦ θαύματος ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τῇ σινδόνι] τῷ ῥάκῳ ML2 ML3 ML4 ML5 ML7 Iv1 Iv4 St, τῷ ῥάκῳ Iv2 | ἀπέδωκε S Iv1 | Ἀνανία] νεανία ML7 | ἀπελθὼν om. ML1 ML6 Iv3 | αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ ML2 Iv2 Iv4 St, τοῦτο ML1 ML6, αὐτὴν Ced 6 εἰπὼν post Ἀνανία Mc ML1 ML2 ML3 ML6 Iv3 Ced, λέγων post Ἀνανία ML7, εἰπὼν post Ἀνανία et σε ML5 | γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσας οὕτως] Ἀντέγραψε δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Αὔγαρον ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχουσας οὕτως Ced | γράψας] add. καὶ S ML5, add. αὐτῷ καὶ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | ἔχουσας] περιέχουσας S Mc ML2 ML3 ML4 ML6 ML7 Iv1 Iv4 St, περιέχουσης ML1 Iv3 | οὕτω Mc ML2 ML4 ML6 Iv3 7 καὶ om. ML1 ML6 Iv3 | ἑωρακότας] ἑωρακότες ML5 8 μὴ (i) om. S | ἵνα] add. καὶ S ML4 ML7 Iv1 Iv4 St | ἵνα οἱ μὴ] ἵνα οἱ μὲν Mc, οἱ δὲ μὴ Ced 9 πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται] πιστεύουσι καὶ ζήσονται Ced | δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι] οὗ μοι δὲ ἔγραψάς Mc, οὗ δὲ μοι ἔγραψάς ML1 ML6 Iv3, οὗ δὲ με ἔγραψάς ML7 | μοι] με Iv1 10 ἐστὶν ML5 | ἀπεστάλη ML4, ἀπεστάλιν Iv1 | ἐνταῦθα om. ML5 Ced | πληρῶσαί με post πάντα Ced 11 ἀναληφθῆναι] add. με Ced | Καὶ om. Ced 11 12 ἐπειδ' ἂν Iv3, ἐπιδὰν St 12 ἀποστελῶ] ἀποστέλλω ML5 Iv3, ἀποστείλω Ced | σοι] σε Iv4 13 ὅστις] δς Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | καὶ (i) om. S | εἰρήνην post σὺν σοὶ ML5 14 παράσχοι S ML5 Iv3 Iv4 St, παράσχη Ced | ποιήσει τῇ πόλει σου] τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται Ced 15 ἐχθρῶν] add. σου ML2 ML3 ML4 Iv4

Given that the Lord knows secrets and examines our hearts, he knew 5
 about Ananias's desire. He asked to wash and when he had done so, a
 cloth folded double into four was handed to him and after washing he
 wiped his unveiled and divine face with it. His divine form and aspect
 5 was imprinted onto the linen cloth and he gave it to Ananias saying,
 Go and give this to the one who sent you. Jesus also wrote a letter,
 which reads as follows:

Blessed are you, Abgar, for believing in me without having seen me. It 6
 is written about me that those who see me will not believe in me, so
 10 that those who have not seen me can believe and live. As for what you
 wrote to me about coming to you, I have to fulfill everything I was sent
 here for, and after fulfilling this be taken up to the Father who sent me.
 When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples, called
 15 Thaddaeus, who will cure your illness and give eternal life and peace to
 you and those with you. He will also see to it that no enemies conquer
 your city.

Epistola Iesu secundum Iv2

Μακάριος εἶ, Αὐγαρε, πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοί, μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Γέγραπται γὰρ
 περὶ ἐμοῦ ἑωρακότας με μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἑωρακότες με
 αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται. Περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἔλθειν πρὸς σέ,
 δέον πρῶτον δι' ὧν ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πληρῶσαι ἀναλη- 5
 φθῆναί με πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλάντά με Πατέρα. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναί
 με, ἀποστελῶ σοι ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὀνόματι Θαδδαῖον, ὅστις καὶ
 θεραπεύσει σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοί καὶ ζωὴν καὶ εἰρήνην παράσχει τῇ πόλει
 σου ἣτις καλεῖται Ἑδεσσα τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσει πρὸς τὸ μηδέποτε τινα τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσει αὐτῆς. Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόν- 10
 τες με καὶ πιστεύσαντες, ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ μὴ ἑωρακώς με πεπίστευκας, ἡτοιμά-
 σθαί σοι σωτηρία ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν
 βλεπόντων σε. Καὶ γὰρ ἔκλινα οὖν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατήλθον διὰ τὸ γένος
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥκησα δὲ παρθενικὴν οἴκησιν ἵνα τὴν παράβασιν τὴν ἐν
 τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐξαλείψω, ἑαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς μεγαλύνω. Αὕτη 15
 δέ μου ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅπου ἐὰν προβληθῇ, εἴτε ἐν δικαστηρίῳ εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ
 ἢ ἐν πυρέσσουσιν ἢ ἐν φρικιώσιν ἢ ὑπέρβασιν φαρμάκων πάθωσιν ἢ ὅσα
 τούτοις ὅμοια ἔσονται διαλυθήσονται. Ἔστω δὲ ὁ φορὼν αὐτὴν ἀγνὸς καὶ
 καθαρὸς ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος καὶ λέγετω αὐτὴν εἰς ἴσιν 20
 εἶναι καὶ χαρὰν βεβαίαν, διότι ὁ λόγραφος γέγραπται τῇ ἰδιᾷ μου χειρὶ
 μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τῆς ἐμῆς· ἐσφράγισα δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν μου ταύτην
 ἑπτὰ σφραγίσιν αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμέναι γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκοῖς σημανθείσας,
 αἵτινες μεθερμενεθόμεναι, τοῦτο δηλοῦσι· Θεοῦ Θεῶν Θεῖον Θαῦμα + Ψ
 Ε Υ Ρ Α Δ

Ὁ μὲν σταυρὸς δηλοῖ ὅτι ἐκὼν ἐπάγη ἐν αὐτῷ. Τὸ ψ δηλοῖ ὅτι ψιλὸς 25
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ἀλήθειαν. Τὸ ε δηλοῖ ἐγὼ θεὸς
 πρῶτος καὶ πλὴν μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος. Τὸ υ δηλοῖ ὑψιλὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ
 θεὸς τῶν θεῶν. Τὸ ρ δηλοῖ ῥύστης ἐγενόμενην τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους.
 Τὸ α δηλοῖ ἀναπέπαιμαι ὑπὸ τῶν Χερουβίμ. Τὸ δ δηλοῖ διόλου καὶ
 διηνεκῶς καὶ διαπαντός καὶ διαμένων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 30

Jesus' letter according to Iveron 433

Blessed are you, Abgar, for believing in me without having seen me. It is written about me that those who see me will not believe in me, so that those who have not seen me can believe and live. As for what
 5 you wrote to me about coming to you, first I have to fulfil everything I was sent here for by the one who sent me, and after fulfilling this be taken up to the Father who sent me. When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples, called Thaddaeus, who will cure you and those with you, and give you eternal life and peace. He will also
 10 see to it that no enemies ever conquer your city, which is called Edessa. For it is written about me, blessed are those who have not seen me and yet believe. You have not seen me and yet you have believed, and so the salvation of your soul and body and your household is stored up for you and for the salvation of those who look on you. I came down
 15 from heaven for the sake of mankind, to dwell in a virgin in order to wipe away the sin that was committed in the Garden of Eden. I humbled myself in order to glorify you. This is my letter and wherever it is read, whether in a court of justice or on the road, if you have fever or you are shivering or are suffering from an overdose of medicine or
 20 anything else like this, you will be freed from it. May he who bears it with him be holy and clean and kept safe from all trouble. May it be read to heal and give great joy, because the text was written by my own hand and I have sealed my letter with my own seal, seven seals in Hebrew letters, which are given below, and when translated mean,
 25 godly wonder of the God of Gods + Ψ Ε Υ Ρ Α Δ. The cross means that I underwent it willingly. The Ψ means that I am not just a man according to appearances but in truth. The Ε means that I am God alone and besides me there is none. The Υ means that I am a great king and God of Gods. The Ρ means that I became the deliverer of the
 30 human race. The Α means that I rest on the Cherubim. The Δ means that I am eternal, everlasting, perpetual, and I exist for ever and ever.¹

¹ The explanations (apart from the cross) all depend on the first letter of the relevant Greek word. Ψ is the first letter of ψιλός (according to appearances), Ε is the first letter of ἐγώ (the first person singular pronoun), Υ is the first letter of ὑψίλος (great or elevated), Ρ is the first letter of ῥύσις (deliverer), Α is the first letter of ἀναπέπνυμαι (I rest) and Δ is the first letter of the Greek words διόλου, διηνεκώς and διαπαντός (all meaning eternal) and the first letter of the expression διαμένων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (existing for ever and ever).

- 7 Ἐπιθείς ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ σφραγίδας ἑπτὰ γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκαῖς σημανθεί-
σας, αἵτινες μεθερμηνευόμεναι τοῦτο δηλοῦσι· θεοῦ θεῶν θεῖον θαῦμα.
- 8 Ὁ δὲ Αὐγαρος δεξάμενος περιχαρῶς τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ πεσὼν καὶ προο-
κυνήσας τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἄχραντον εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου πίστει καὶ πόθῳ πολ-
λῷ ἰάθη παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου αὐτοῦ, μικροῦ τινος λειψάνου ἐν τῷ 5
μετώπῳ αὐτοῦ τῆς λέπρας ὑπολειφθέντος.
- 9 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ
ἄνοδον καταλαβὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος Θαδδαῖος τὴν Ἔδεσαν προσήγαγε τῇ
κολυμβήτρει τὸν Αὐγαρον καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ ὕδατος 10
καθαρισθεὶς καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ ἐκείνου λειψάνου τῆς λέπρας.
- 10 Ἐντεῦθεν παντοίως τιμῶν καὶ σεβόμενος ὁ Αὐγαρος τὸ τοιοῦτον θεῖον
ὁμοίωμα τῆς τοῦ κυρίου μορφῆς καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τιμᾶσθαι

1 καὶ om. ML₂ ML₃ 1 2 σφραγίδας ἑπτὰ γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκαῖς σημανθείσας] σφρα-
γίδα γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκαῖς ἐνσημανθείσαν ἑπτὰ Ced 1 ἑπτὰ post σημανθείσας S 2 αἵ-
τινες] ἃ τίνα Ced | μεθερμηνευόμενα Ced | τοῦτο δηλοῦσι] om. St, ἐδήλουν Mc ML₁
ML₆ Iv₃, δηλοῦσι τοῦτο ML₇, τοῦτα δηλοῦσι Ced | θεῶν] θεαθὲν S Ced, θέα ML₁
ML₃ Iv₃, θεὸν Iv₁, θεὰν St | θαῦμα θεῖον Ced 3 Αὐγαρος] τοπάρχης Αὐγαρος Ced
| καὶ πεσὼν] πεσὼν τε ML₇, πεσὼν Ced | καὶ (2) om. S Iv₂ Ced 3 4 προσκυνήσας]
προσεκύνησε Ced, add. μετὰ συντετριμμένης καρδίας ML₂ ML₃ ML₄ Iv₄ 4 εἰκόνα
post ἁγίαν Ced 5 παραχρῆμα] καὶ παραχρῆμα Ced | τῆς νόσου] τῶν νόσων Ced |
μικροῦ τινος λειψάνου om. ML₅ Iv₁ Iv₂ 6 αὐτοῦ] add. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Αὐγαρος δυσὶ νοσή-
μασι ταλαιπωρούμενος, ἐνὶ μὲν ἄρθρίτιδι χρονία, ἐτέρᾳ δὲ λέπρᾳ μελαίνῃ, ἐκδαπανώσῃ
τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ὅς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρθρων δδύναις συνέχετο καὶ τοῖς τῆς λέπρας ἐτα-
λαιπωρεῖτο κακοῖς, ἀπ' ἧς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ τῆς ἀμορφίας αἰσχύνῃ, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ θεατὸς ἦν
σχεδὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Ced (cf. I) | τῆς λέπρας om. Ced | ὑπολειφθείσης ML₂ ML₃
Iv₂, ὑπολειφθῆσης ML₅ | ὑπολειφθέντος post λειψάνου Ced 7 δὲ] add. γε Ced |
τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάθος S Ced | τοῦ om. ML₅ Iv₂ 7 8 τὴν ... ἄνοδον] τῆς ... ἀνό-
δου ML₅ 7 αὐτοῦ om. ML₄ 8 προσήγαγεν St 9 καὶ] add. τοῦτον καὶ St |
ὑπ' αὐτὸν] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ML₅ Iv₄, αὐτῷ Iv₁, αὐτοῦ S Mc ML₁ ML₆ ML₇ Iv₃ St Ced |
εἰς τὸ ὄνομα] ἐβάπτισεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ML₃ Ced 10 ὕδατος] add. ὁ Αὐγαρος ML₇
St 11 καθαρὸς Mc, καθαρθεὶς ML₄, καθαρὸς καὶ ὑγιής Ced | καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ ...
λέπρας] ἀπαλειφθέντος καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ λειψάνου τῆς λέπρας τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος ἐν τῷ
μετώπῳ αὐτοῦ Ced | λειψάνου ἐκείνου Iv₄ 12 Ἐντεῦθεν] Ἐκτοτε δὲ Ced | τιμῶν
καὶ σεβόμενος ... θεῖον ὁμοίωμα] ἐσέβετο καὶ ἐτίμα τὸ σεβάσιμον ἐκτύπωμα Ced | τιμῶν]
τιμῶν ἦν ML₁ ML₆ Iv₃, ἦν τιμῶν Mc, τιμῶν τὸν ἀπόστολον ML₂ ML₃ | σεβόμενος]
add. ἦν ML₇ 13 ὁμοίωμα] ἐκτύπωμα Mc ML₁ ML₆ Iv₂ Iv₃ Ced | καὶ τοῦτο ... τοῦτο
προσέθηκεν (p. 100.1)] προσθεὶς καὶ τοῦτο ὁ τοπάρχης τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτοῦ καλοῖς Ced |
πᾶσι ML₂ ML₃ | βουλούμενος τιμᾶσθαι Mc (13 p. 100.1)

He sealed it with seven seals in Hebrew letters, which when translated 7
mean godly wonder of the God of Gods.

Abgar received Ananias with great joy, and fell down and worshipped 8
the holy and unde led image of the Lord. Thanks to his great faith and
5 desire he was healed immediately from his illness, although a small spot
of leprosy remained on his forehead.

After Christ s saving passion and his ascension into heaven, the apostle 9
Thaddaeus went to Edessa and took Abgar to the pool, baptising all his
household in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy
10 Spirit. When he came up from the water the small spot of leprosy had
been cleaned.

From that moment on, Abgar always revered and honoured the divine 10
likeness of the Lord s form and desired it to be revered the same as all

βουλόμενος τοῖς αὐτοῦ καλοῖς καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν· ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς Ἑδέσης πολιστῶν τῶν ἐπισήμων τινὸς ἕλληνος ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς δημοσίας πύλης τῆς πόλεως ἀναστηλώσαντες, ᾧ πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ἄστεος γενέσθαι βουλόμενον ἀνάγκη ἦν προσκυνῆσαι καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι καὶ οὕτως εἰσελθεῖν τῇ πόλει.

5

- 11 Τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ δαιμονιώδες ἄγαλμα ὁ Αὐγαρος καθελὼν καὶ τελείῳ ἀφανισμῷ παραδοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον τὴν ἀχειροποίητον ταύτην εἰκόνα τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ ἐπὶ σανίδος κολλήσας καὶ καλλωπίσας ἀνεστήλωσεν ἐπιγράφας ἐν αὐτῇ ταῦτα· Χριστέ ὁ θεός, ὁ εἰς σέ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει ποτέ. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐθέσπισε πάντα τὸν διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐκείνης διερχόμενον τὸ προσήκον σέβας τῇ θαυματουργῷ καὶ τιμίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνι ἀπονέμειν καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσερχέσθαι.
- 12 Καὶ διετηρήθη τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβὲς θέσπισμα μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Αὐγάρου παροικίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

1 τοῖς αὐτοῦ καλοῖς καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ καλοῖς ML1 ML6 Iv3 1 2 τοῖς ... Ἑδέσης] πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε θεοσεβῶς διαπράξασθαι· τὸ δέ ἐστιν, ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς Ἑδέσης Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 (τὸ δέ ἐστιν om. Mc) 1 προσέθηκε ML5 1 3 ἐκ τῶν ... ἀναστηλώσαντος] ἔκπαλαι τῶν καιρῶν πρὸ τῆς δημοσίας πύλης τῆς πόλεως Ἑδέσης ἄγαλμα τι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ὑπερθεῖν ἀνεστήλωτο Ced 1 τῆς] τοῖς ML5 2 πολιστῶν] πολιτῶν Mx ML1 ML5 ML6 ML7 Iv2 Iv3 St Ced, τῶν πολιστῶν ML4 | τινὸς] ἐνός τινός Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | ἕλληνος] om. ML7 Iv1 Iv3, ἑλληνικόν S 3 ἀναστηλώσαντος S Mc ML1 ML2 ML4 ML5 ML6 ML7 Iv1 Iv2 Iv3 Iv4 St Ced | ᾧ] ἔθος ἦν Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3, ὁ Ced | ἄστεος] πόλεως Ced 3 4 γενέσθαι βουλόμενον] γενόμενον Iv3, βουλόμενον εἰσέναι Ced 4 ἀνάγκη ἦν om. Mc ML1 Iv3 | προσκυνῆσαι] προσκυνεῖν Ced, add. πρότερον τῷ ἄγάλματι Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τὰς εὐχὰς Iv3 | ἀποδοῦναι] ἀποδιδόναι Ced 5 εἰσελθεῖν] εἰσερχέσθαι Ced | τῇ πόλει] τῇ πύλει S, ἐν τῇ πόλει ML1 ML2 ML3 ML6 Iv4 Ced 6 καὶ δαιμονιώδες om. S Mc | ὁ Αὐγαρος om. Ced 7 παραδοὺς ἀφανισμῷ Ced 8 εἰκόνα ταύτην Mc | τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ML7 | σωτήρος ἡμῶν] add. Χριστοῦ Iv2 8 9 καὶ καλλωπίσας om. Iv1 Iv3 9 ἀνέστησεν Ced | ταῦτα] add. τὰ ῥήματα Ced | ὁ θεός] θεὸς Iv1 Iv2 10 ποτέ om. Ced | ἐπιθέσπισε Iv2 10 11 πάντα ... διερχόμενον] τὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰσερχόμενον πάντα διὰ τῆς πύλης Iv2 11 διερχόμενον] διέχεσθαι μέλλοντα Mc Iv2, εἰσερχόμενον Mc ML5 Iv3, διερχόμενος St, εἰσερχέσθαι μέλλοντα Ced | σέβας] add. καὶ τὴν τιμὴν Ced 11 12 τῇ θαυματουργῷ ... ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονέμειν τῇ πολυθαυμάστῳ καὶ θαυματουργῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνι Ced 12 εἰσερχέσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν Iv2 | πόλιν] add. Ἑδέσης Iv2 Iv3 | εἰσερχέσθαι] εἰσέναι Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 13 Καὶ om. ML3 | τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβὲς] τὸ εὐσεβὲς τοῦτο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | εὐσεβὲς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ML5 ML7 Iv2 | εὐσεβὲς om. Iv4 14 παροικίας] ἐν τῷ βίῳ παροικίας Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τε τοῦ Αὐγάρου om. Ced | τῆς om. Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 Ced

his other treasures, and placed them together. One of the ancient noble founders of Edessa's nobility had made a statue of some Greek god and put it at the public gateway into the city. Everyone who wanted to come into the city had to worship the statue and pray to it and then enter the
5 city.

Abgar took this impure and devilish statue down and destroyed it. He 11 embellished the image of our God and Saviour, which had not been made by human hands, xed it to a wooden board, and put it up in the statue's place. He wrote on it Christ, God, whoever hopes in you
10 will never be let down. He also gave order that everyone who came through the gateway had to pay the due respect to the miracle-working and reverent image of Christ and then come into the city.

The order of this praiseworthy man was kept in force during his own 12 lifetime and that of his son.

- 13 Ὁ δὲ τούτου ἔκγονος τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχος γεγονὼς ἀπελάκτισε τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ εἰδῶλα ἠυτομόλησε καὶ ἡβουλήθη πάλιν ἀναστηλῶσαι δαμονικὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα καθελεῖν.
- 14 Τοῦτο γνοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἔθετο πρόνοιαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ὑπῆρχε κυλινδροειδῆς, θρυ- 5 αλλίδα πρὸ τῆς θείας εἰκόνης ἀνάψας καὶ κέραμον ἐπιθεῖς εἴτα ἔξωθεν τιτάνῳ καὶ πλίνθοις ἀποφράξας τὸ ἐμβαδὸν εἰς ὁμαλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ τεῖχος ἀπηύθυνε· καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι ἀπέστη τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὁ δυσσεβής.
- 15 Ἐρρει τοίνυν διὰ μέσου χρόνος πολὺς καὶ τῆς ἑξ ἀνθρώπων μνήμης ἀπερ- 10 ρύει τὸ θεῖον ἀπεικόνισμα ὅπη κέκρυπται. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Χοσρόης τὰς τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις πορθήσας κατέλαβε καὶ τὴν Ἑδεσαν καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κατ' αὐτῆς κινήσας εἰς φόβον καὶ ἀγωνίαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καταφυγόντες καὶ μετὰ δακρύων αὐτὸν παρακαλέσαντες ταχεῖαν εὗραντο σωτηρίαν.

1 ἔκγονος ML2 ML3 ML4 Iv2 St, ἔκγονος ML5 | τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχος γεγονὼς om. Iv1 | πατρικῆς] add. αὐτοῦ ML7, παπῶας Ced | ἀπελάκτισε] ἀπελάκτισεν S, ἀπελάκτισε Iv2, ἀπεβάλετο Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 2 πάλιν ἡβουλήθη Ced 3 στήλην δαμονικὴν Iv2 4 τοῦτο] ὅπερ Iv2 | ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως] ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τῆς πόλεως] Ἑδέσσης Ced | ἐκ] διὰ Ced | ἀποκαλύψεως ML5 | τὴν om. Iv2 5 ὑπῆρχεν ML5 | κυλινδροειδῆς] κανδροειδῆς ML3 6 ἀνάψας εἰκόνας Iv2 | ἄψας Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | καὶ (i) om. ML5 Iv1 7 ἀποφράξας] ἐπιφράξας Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3, ἀποφρᾶ (sic) ML5 8 ἀπηύθυνε] ἀπηύθυνε ML5, ἀπηυθῆναι Iv1 St | ὁρᾶσθαι] ὁρᾶσθαι) ML4, add. τὴν φθονουμένην μορφήν Ced | ἀπέστη] add. καὶ Mc | ὁ δυσσεβής τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 9 Ἐρρει τοίνυν] Καὶ ἐρρύν Iv2 | Ἐρρει ... πολὺς] Ἐρρει διὰ μέσου χρόνος πολὺς S ML5 St, Παρερρύν δὲ διὰ μέσου χρόνος πολὺς ML7, Ἐρρει διὰ χρόνον, μέσος πολλὺς Iv1, Πολὺς τὸ μεταξύ παρερρύν χρόνος Mc Iv3 | τοίνυν om. ML2 ML3 ML4 9 10 ἀπερρύνει ... κέκρυπται] τὸ θεῖον ἀπερρύνει ἀπεικόνισμα ὅπη κέκρυπται Iv2, ἀπερρύνει ἢ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης εἰκόνας ἀπόκρυψις Iv4 Ced 10 ἀπεικόνισμα] εἰκόνισμα S Mc ML1 | ὅπη] ὅποι S Mc, ὅπου ML5 | κέκρυπται] κρύπτεται ML1 ML3 Iv3 11 τὰς] τοὺς ML5 | πόλεις] πόλιν ML4, πόλιν ML5 | πορθήσας] πορθῶν καὶ καταστρεφόμενος Ced | τὴν om. Ced | Ἑδεσαν] add. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ced 12 κατ' αὐτῆς] κατ' αὐτήν Iv1, om. Ced | κινήσας] add. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, οἷον βελῶν ἀφέσεις, κατασείσης τειχῶν, διαθραύσεις πυλῶν Ced | ἀγωνίαν καὶ φόβον ML1 ML6 Iv3 12 13 ἐνέβαλε τοὺς τῆς πόλεως Ced 13 ἐνέβαλε ML5 | οἱ] add. ἐν ἀμχανία καὶ ἀπογνώσει καταστάντες Ced | πρὸς τὸν] καὶ πρὸς τὸν Mc ML1 ML6, καὶ πρὸς Iv3 | καταφεύγουσι Ced | καὶ] add. μετ' ὁδύνης καρδίας καὶ Ced 13 14 δακρύων ... σωτηρίαν] ἐξήτουν αὐτὸν, διὸ καὶ εὗρον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ κύριος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαβὶδ Ced 13 αὐτὸν om. Iv2 14 παρακαλέσαντες] καθικετεύσαντες Mc ML1 ML6 ML7 Iv3 | σωτηρίαν] τὴν σωτηρίαν S Mc

Abgar's grandson inherited his father's throne, but slipped away from 13
his piety and went over to idols. He wanted to set up another devilish
statue and take down the image of Christ.

5 The bishop of the city found out about this from a divine revelation, 14
and made the following plan. Given that the place was shaped like a
cylinder, he showed great foresight and lit a lamp in front of the divine
image and put a tile on top of it. He then sealed the surface off with
gypsum and bricks, finishing the wall off on the same level. As the
10 image was no longer anywhere to be seen Abgar's evil grandson gave
the plan up.

After a long time had elapsed, people forgot all about how the divine 15
representation had been hidden. Khusro, the king of the Persians, had
sacked the cities of Asia and came to Edessa. He brought up every kind
of machinery and threw the inhabitants of the city into confusion and
15 fear. They had recourse to God, and entreated him with tears to see if
they could find immediate safety.

- 16 Διὰ γὰρ μιᾶς τῶν νυκτῶν φαίνεταιί τις γυνή ἐνδοξωτάτη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
Εὐλαλίῳ τὴν ἐπάνω λέγουσα τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως πύλης κατακεκρυμμένην
τὸν τόπον σημάνασα θεῖαν μορφὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀχειροποιήτον λαβὼν
αἰσίως πράξεις.
- 17 Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος τὸν τόπον καταλαβὼν καὶ τοῦτον ἀνορύξας, ὃ τοῦ θαύ- 5
ματος, εὔρε τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα ἀδιαλώβητον καὶ τὴν θρυαλλίδα ἐν τοσοῦτῳ
χρόνῳ μὴ ἀποσβεσθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπιτεθέντα πρὸ
τοῦ λύχνου κέραμον ἕτερον ὁμοίωμα ἀπαράλλακτον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου ἐκ-
τυπωθέντα καὶ τούτων τοῖς πᾶσι δειχθέντων ἀφάτου χαρᾶς καὶ εὐχαριστί-
ας τὰ πάντα ἐπληρώθησαν. 10
- 18 Τοῦτο λαβὼν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ λιτανεύσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας κατέλαβε
τὸν τόπον καθ' ὃν οἱ Πέρσαι διώρυγτον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χαλκωμάτων
ἤχου κατάφωροι καθεστήκεσαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἀπὸ
τῆς λυχνίας ἐκείνης ἔλαιον ἀποστάξας εἰς τὸ ἡτρεπισμένον πῦρ πάντας
ἀπώλεσαν ἄρδην. 15

1 Διὰ γὰρ μιᾶς] Ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | μιᾶς] τῆς μιᾶς S ML7 Iv2 2
Εὐλαλίῳ] Εὐλαβίῳ Iv2 | λέγουσα om. S Mc ML1 ML2 ML4 ML5 ML6 ML7 Iv1 Iv2
Iv3 Iv4 St | τῆς πόλεως πύλης] πύλης τῆς πόλεως λέγουσαν S, πύλης τῆς πόλεως ML2
ML3 ML5 Iv2, τῆς πύλης εἰπούσα τῆς πόλεως Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | πύλης om. ML4
ML7 Iv4 St 3 4 τὸν τόπον ... πράξεις] θεῖαν ἀχειροποιήτον μορφὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος
λαβὼν, πάντα αἰσίως πράξεις Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 4 αἰσίως] πάντα αἰσίως S Mc
ML2 ML3 ML4 ML7 Iv4 St 5 ἐπίσκοπος] add. χαρᾶς ἀφάτου πλησθεῖς καὶ Ced
| ἀνορύξας] διαρρήξας Ced 5 6 εὔρεν ὃ τοῦ θαύματος Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 6
ἀδιαλώβητον] ἀλώβητον Iv1, add. καὶ κεχαραγμένην Ced | ἐν τοσοῦτῳ] ἐν τῷ τοσοῦτῳ
ML2, ἐν τοσοῦτο ML4 7 χρόνῳ om. ML5 | τὸν] τῷ ML5, ἐν τῷ Ced | ἐπιτεθέντι
ML5 Ced 7 8 πρὸ τοῦ λύχνου] πρὸ τούτου Iv2 8 κέραμον] κερᾶμ ML5 Ced |
ἕτερον] ἐκτυπώθεν ἕτερον et om. ἐκτυπωθέντα ML5 Ced | ἀπαράλλακτος ML5 Iv2 |
τοῦ πρωτοτύπου] τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 8 9 ἐκτυπωθέντα] ἐκτυπωθέντι
ML6 9 10 καὶ τούτων ... ἐπληρώθησαν om. Ced 9 τούτων] τούτου ML2 ML4
ML5 St, τοῦτον Iv1 Iv2 | τοῖς πᾶσι δειχθέντων] ἀναδειχθέντων καὶ θεαθέντων Mc,
ἀναδειχθέντων καὶ θεασάντων ML1 ML6 Iv3 | δειχθέντων] δειχθέντος ML1 ML3 ML5
ML6 Iv3, δειχθέντα Iv2 9 10 εὐχαριστίας] εὐφροσύνης ML5 Iv1 Iv2 10 τὰ
πάντα] ἅπαντα S, ἅπαντας ML6 Iv3, ἅπαντες Mc ML1 | ἐπληρώθησαν] ἐπληρώθη Iv2
11 ἐπίσκοπος] add. μετὰ χαρᾶς Iv2, add. μετὰ χαρᾶς μέτρου Ced | καὶ (1) om. ML6 |
κατέλαβε] κατέλαβον S 11 13 κατέλαβε ... καθεστήκεσαν om. Ced 12 καθ' om.
ML3 | καὶ om. ML5 | ἀπὸ τοῦ] γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 13 καθεστήκεσαν]
καθεστήκασι ML5 Iv2 Iv4, καθεστήκασι Iv1, καθέστησαν ML6 Iv3, κατέστησαν ML1 |
Ὡς δὲ] Καὶ ὥς Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | ἀλλήλων ἐγγὺς] πλησίον ἀλλήλων Ced | ἐγένοντο]
add. ἐν τῷ ὀρύγματι Ced 14 ἔλαιον] ἐλαίου Ced | ἀποστάξας] ἐπιστάξας S Mc ML1
ML6 Iv3, ἐπιστάξαντες Ced 15 ἀπώλεσαν Iv2 | ἀπώλεσαν ἄρδην] ἄρδην ἀπώλεσαν
ML1 ML6 Iv3, ἄρδην ἀπώλεσαν Mc ML7, ἀπώλεσαν ἄρδην S

One night a glorious woman appeared to the bishop, Eulalius, telling 16
him, You will do well to take the divine form of the Saviour, not
made by human hands, that is hidden above this gate of the city and
pointing out the spot after carrying out the prescribed rites.

5 The bishop found the place and opened it. To his great wonder he 17
found the divine image unharmed and the lamp still burning after all
this time. Another unchangeable likeness of the first one had formed
on the tile that had been placed in front of the lamp to keep it safe. He
showed these things to everybody and they were filled with indescrib-
10 able joy and thanksgiving.

The bishop took the image, held a litany and gave thanks. He went to 18
the place where the Persians were digging, given away by the noise of
the bronze utensils. As they came near each other he poured out oil
from the lamp onto the fire the enemy had prepared, and killed every
15 one of them.

- 19 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀναφθεῖσαν πυρὰν κατὰ τῶν ἔνδον, ἣν ἡ ἄπειρος ὕλη ὑπέτρφε τῶν συχνῶν κατακοπέντων δένδρων, ὡς πλησίον ἐγένετο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ τοῦ θείου ἐκτυπώματος, ἐξαίφνης βίαιος ἄνεμος ἐγεργθεὶς κατὰ τῶν ἀναφλεγόντων τὴν πυρκαϊὰν τὴν φλόγα ἐπέστρεψε καὶ ἐδίωκε τούτους καὶ ἐνεπύριζε. Ταῦτα παθόντες μᾶλλον ἢ 5 δράσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι.
- 20 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τῶν πόλεων τὰ πάντα συνεροῦν ἀλλιστα, ἣν δὲ θεῖον βούλημα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἄχραντον εἰκόνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθησαυρισθῆναι καλῶν, ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων κυριεύων ἀρχῆς Ῥωμανὸς σπούδασμα ποιεῖται καὶ ταύτῃ καταπλουτίσαι τὴν βασιλεύου- 10 σαν.
- 21 Καὶ δὴ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὴν Ἑδεσαν καὶ αἰτήσας τὸ θεανδρικὸν ἐκτύπωμα καὶ ἀνατιθεὶς ἀργύρου ἐπισήμου χιλιάδας δύο πρὸς μυριάδι μιᾷ καὶ διακοσίους Σαρακηνοὺς, οὓς ἔτυχε τότε κατέ- 15 χων, καὶ τῇ ἐφέσει τοῦ τοιούτου καλοῦ πρὸς πάντα ὑπείξας καὶ ἀσφαλι- σάμενος τοῦ μὴ πολεμῶς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματα κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ἐκείνων ἐπέρχεσθαι πόλεων, ἐπέτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως, τὰ αἰτηθέντα πάντα ἐκπληρώσας.

1 καὶ] add. τὴν S Mc ML3 Ced | ἀναφθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν Ced | ἀναφθεί-
σης πυρᾶς Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τῶν ἔνδον] τὸν ἔνδον ML2 Iv1, τὴν ἔνδον τόπον Iv2
Iv4, τὸν ἔνδον τόπον ML3 ML4 ML5, τῶν ἔνδον St 2 ἢ om. S Mc ML5 Iv2 Ced |
ὑπέτρφεν et om. | ὑπέτρφε τῶν συχνῶν κατακοπέντων δένδρων] τῶν κατακοπέντων
συχνῶν δένδρων ὑπέστρεφεν Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | ὑπέτρφε] ὑπέστρεφε ML2 ML3 ML4
Iv1 Iv2 Iv4 | τῶν ... δένδρων Ced 3 πλησίον] add. αὐτῆς Ced | μετὰ] add. καὶ Mc
ML1 ML2 ML3 ML5 ML6 Iv1 Iv2 Iv3 Iv4 St 4 τῶν om. Iv2 | ἀναφλεγόντων] ἀνα-
πτόντων Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 4 5 τὴν πυρκαϊὰν ... ἐνεπύριζε] ταύτην ἀντέστρεψεν,
οὓς καὶ ἐμπτυρίζουσα ἀπέστρεψε Ced 5 ἐπέστρεψε] ὑπέστρεφε S ML2 ML5 ML7
Iv1 Iv2 Iv4 St, ὑπέστρεψε ML1 | μᾶλλον om. S ML7 Iv1 | ἢ μᾶλλον ML5 | ἢ om. Iv2
6 Πέρσαι] add. οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ δις καὶ πολλάκις, μετ' αἰσχύνῃς ἀπείρου 7 τῶν πόλεων]
πόλιν Iv1 | τὰ om. Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 Ced | παντα] πανταχόθεν S Mc Ced 7 8 κάλ-
λιστα] τὰ κάλλιστα Mc ML1 ML6 Iv2 Iv3, τὰ ἀγιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα Ced 8 δὲ] add.
ἄρα S Ced | ἄχραντον] θείαν Ced | εἰκόνα] add. ἐν ταύτῃ Mc ML1 ML6, add. ἐν αὐ-
τῇ Iv3 9 10 ὁ τῆς ... Ῥωμανὸς] ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυριαρχῶν Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Λακατηνὸς
Ced 10 ποιεῖται] ποιῆσαι Iv4, add. κατευμοιρῆσαι ταύτης καὶ Ced | ταυτῇ] ταύτην
S Mc ML5 Iv1 Iv4 St 12 καιροὺς om. ML5 | πρὸς] εἰς Mc ML1 Iv3 13 ἐκτύ-
πωμα] ἐκείνον ἐκτύπωμα Iv1 | ἀνατιθεὶς] ἀντατιθέν S 14 πρὸς μυριάδι μιᾷ om. Iv2 |
μυριάδα Iv1 14 15 οὓς ἔτυχε τότε κατέχων om. ML5 ML7 15 πάντας ML5 Iv1 |
ὑπείξας] ὑπῆξας ML5 Iv2, συγκαταθέμενος Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 16 μὴ om. ML5
16 17 τῶν τεσσάρων ἐκείνων] τῶν Σαρακηνῶν Iv2 17 ἐπέρχεσθαι post πόλεων S ML4
St (ἐκείνων om. S), εἰσιέναι post πόλεων ML1 ML6 Iv3 | πόλεων om. ML5 Iv1 Iv2 |
τὰ] καὶ τὰ Iv2 17 18 τὰ αἰτηθέντα πάντα ἐκπληρώσας om. ML6 Iv3 St

The Persians had lit a fire outside the walls to use against those inside, 19
fed by numerous olive and other trees they had cut down. When the
bishop drew near with the divine figure, a strong wind suddenly blew
up and turned the flames back on those who were lighting the fire. It
5 pursued them and burnt them up, so that the Persians suffered more
than actually doing anything and left with nothing accomplished.

As all good things are gathered in the capital city, it was God's will for 20
the holy and undivided image to be with the other great treasures. The
Roman emperor Romanus made haste to enrich the capital city with
10 the image.

On various occasions he had sent to Edessa and asked for the figure of 21
the divine man. He offered twelve thousand silver coins and two hun-
dred Saracens whom he held captive at the time. In his desire to have
this noble object he agreed to all the conditions and guaranteed that
15 the Roman armies would not attack the four cities. He thus obtained
what he wanted and met all the conditions that were asked of him.

- 22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεχώρησε γενέσθαι καὶ παρεχώρησεν ὁ ἀμηνᾶς, λαβόντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ὃ τε τῆς Σαμοσάτων καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἑδέσης καὶ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν εὐλαβῶν τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ τὸ χρυστόγραφον ἐπιστολίδιον εἶχοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἄπειρα ἐτελεῖτο θαύματα.
- 23 Ὡς δὲ κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων θέματι καὶ τῷ τῆς θεοτόκου 5 ναῷ, τοῦ Εὐσεβίου λεγομένῳ, πολλοὶ προσελθόντες μετὰ πίστεως ἀπὸ ποικίλων νόσων ἰάθησαν. Ἐνθα καὶ τις προσῆλθεν ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐνοχλούμενος καὶ τάδε οἶονει ἀπεφοίβαζεν· ἀπόλαβε, λέγων, Κωνσταντινούπολις δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ σύ, Πορφυρογέννητε, τὴν βασιλείαν σου, καὶ παραντίκα ἰάθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος. 10
- 24 Τῇ δὲ πεντεκαδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν 15 τετρακοσιοστὸν πεντηκοστὸν δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως κατέλαβον τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις τῆς θεοτόκου ναὸν οἱ τὸ ἅγιον διακομιζόμενοι, ὃ καὶ σεβασμίως καὶ περιχαρῶς ἀπεδέχθη καὶ προσεκυνήθη παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. 15
- 25 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν ἄράμενοι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων ὃ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Θεοφύλακτος καὶ οἱ νεάζοντες βασιλεῖς· ὁ γὰρ γέρων δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπολέλειπτο· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῆς γερουσίας ἅπαντες μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος τῇ 20 προσηκούσῃ δορυφορίᾳ παρέπεμπον μέχρι τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ... ὁ ἀμηνᾶς] Καὶ ἐπεὶ παραχωρήθη παρὰ τοῦ ἀμηνᾶ Mc ML1 ML6, Καὶ ἐπειδὴ παραχωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμηνᾶ Iv3 | δὲ] γὰρ Ced | συνεχώρησε] συνεχώρει τε S Mc ML2 ML4 Iv1 Iv2, συνεχώρει ML7, παρεχώρησεν Iv4, παρεχωρεῖτο Ced | γενέσθαι καὶ παρεχώρησεν om. Iv4 | λαβόντες] καὶ λαβόντες Iv4 2 τῆς (1) om. ML1 ML6 Iv3 Ced | ὁ om. S ML3 ML4 3 ἐκεῖνο om. ML2 ML3 ML4 Iv4 | χρυστόγραφον] χειρόγραφον ML2 ML3 | ἐπιστολίδιον] ἐπιστόλιον Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 4 ἄπειρα] ἕτερα ML1 ML6 Iv3 5 ἐπὶ] ἐν Ced | τῷ (1) om. ML4 Iv1 | θέματι] θεάματι Iv1 | καὶ] ἐν ML1 Iv3 Ced 6 τοῦ] τῷ Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 Ced | λεγομένου Iv2 7 8 ὀχλούμενος ML4 ML7 Iv4 St 8 οἶονει Iv3 | λέγων] add. καὶ ML5 Iv2, om. Ced 9 καὶ (1) om. ML7 | καὶ τιμὴν om. Ced | Πορφυρογέννηται St 10 παραντίκα] παραντά S Ced 11 δὲ om. ML5 Iv2 | κατὰ] add. δὲ ML5 11 12 ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ML5 Iv1 12 πεντηκοστὸν om. ML7 Iv1 Iv3, πεντηκοστῷ ML5 | κοσμογενέσεως Iv2 13 τὸν ... ναὸν] τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου S Mc Ced, τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις Iv2 | ναὸν τῆς θεοτόκου ML5 Iv1 Iv2 | τὸ ἅγιον] add. ἐκτύπωμα ML1 ML6 Iv3 13 14 διακομιζόμενοι] add. ἀπεικόνισμα ML3 14 ὁ om. ML3 | περιχαρῶς καὶ σεβασμίως Iv2 | ὑποδέχθη ML2 ML3, ὑπεδέχθη Ced | παρὰ] add. τε Ced 15 λοιπῶν] add. πάντων Ced 16 μετὰ ... προσκύνησιν om. ML3 | τὸν ἀσπασμὸν] τῶν ἀσπασμῶν Iv1 18 ἀπολέλειπτο] ἀπελείπετο S Iv2 Ced, ἀπολέληπτο Iv3 19 μετὰ] add. καὶ ML2 ML3 ML4 ML5 Iv1 Iv2 Iv4 St 20 Χρυσείας Ced

The emir agreed and gave way, and so the bishops of Samosata and 22
Edessa, together with some other nobles, took the holy representation
and the letter written by Christ. Many wonderful miracles were worked
along the way.

5 When they came to the theme of the Optimatoi and to the church of 23
the mother of God, called the church of Eusebius, many people suffering
from various diseases came forward in faith and were healed.
One came in who was possessed by a demon and ended up prophesy-
ing, Receive your glory and honour and joy, Constantinople, and you,
10 Porphyrogenitus, your kingdom. He was immediately cured.

On the fteenth day of the month of August in the year six thousand 24
four hundred and fty two since the creation of the world, the bearers
of the holy object arrived at the church of the mother of God in
Blachernae. The emperors, the men of rank and the rest of the people
15 received it, and worshipped it with great reverence and joy.

The next day, after kissing and worshipping the image of Christ, bishop 25
Theophylactus and the young emperors took it on their shoulders.
The elder emperor stayed at home as he was ill, but all the members
of the Senate and all the clergy joined the procession with the due
20 accompaniment all the way to the Golden Gate.

- 26 Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν ἀναλαβόμενοι ὁμοίως μετὰ ψαλμῶν καὶ ὕμνων καὶ ἀπείρων λαμπάδων καὶ φώτων κατέλαβον τὸν περιώνυμον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας ναὸν ἀκείισε τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τάξιν πεποιηκότες ἀνήλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ εἰσελθόντες ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Θεοτόκου τῷ ἐπι- 5 λεγομένῳ τοῦ Φάρου ἐκείσε κατέθεντο τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν πιστῶν, εἰς φυλακὴν βασιλέων, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταστάσεως.

1 Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν] Κἀκεῖθεν Ced | καὶ ὕμνων om. Iv3 | ὕμνων] ὕμνων καὶ ~~εὐχαῶν~~ (sic) ML4 1 2 καὶ ἀπείρων ... φώτων om. Ced 2 καὶ φώτων om. ML3 | καὶ (2) om. Ced | μέγιστον] πανμέγιστον Iv2 2 3 μέγιστον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας ναὸν] μέγιστον ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας S Ced 3 τοῦ θεοῦ om. ML5 Iv1 | θεοῦ Σοφίας] θεοῦ λόγου Σοφίας ML3 3 5 ἀκείισε ... κατέθεντο] εἶτα ἀνήλθον εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐν τῷ θεομητρὸς ναῷ Φάρῳ κατέθεντο Ced 4 εἰς] καὶ Iv3 | ἐν τῷ ναῷ] εἰς τὸν ναὸν ML5 6 καὶ θεοῦ om. ML1 ML6 Iv3 Ced | καὶ σωτῆρος om. Mc Ced 6 8 εἰς φυλακὴν ... καταστάσεως] εἰς φυλακτῆριον μέγιστον τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων καὶ πάντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν Ced 7 βασιλέων] εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων ML2 ML3 Iv4, βασιλέως ML5 | ὅλης om. ML1 ML6 Iv3 | τῆς πόλεως] τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων ML6 Iv3 7 8 καὶ ... καταστάσεως] καὶ καύχημα παντὸς τοῦ Χριστωνύμου πληρώματος Mc ML1 ML6 Iv3 | Χριστιανῶν] Χριστιανῶν ἀπαντων πανταχοῦ ML7 8 καταστάσεως] add. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν Iv4

From there they went to the far-famed great church of the Wisdom 26
of God, singing psalms and hymns and accompanied by numerous
torches and lights. Performing the proper ritual there, they went to the
royal palace and into the church of the Mother of God called Pharos,
5 where they placed the sacred and holy ^{figure} of our Lord and God
and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the glory of the faithful, the safety of the
emperors and to safeguard the whole city together with the Christian
community.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνάμνησις τῆς συνελεύσεως τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου μορφῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἑδεσηνῶν πόλεως εἰς ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν.

ἐν σινδόνι ζῶν ἐξεμάξαι σὴν θέλων
ὁ νεκρὸς εἰσδὺς ἔσχατον τὴν σινδόνα.
ἀχειρότευκτον χειρότευκτον σὸν τύπον
χέρει κέραμος, παντοτεύκτα Χριστέ μου.

5

Τῆς αὐτοαγαθότητος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πολλῶν θαυμάτων γενομένων, ἀφεικνεῖται ἡ φήμη μέχρι καὶ Αὐγάρου τοῦ τοπάρχου Ἑδέσης. Ὁ γὰρ Αὐγαρος ὑπο μελαίνης λέπρας καὶ ἀρθρίτιδος κατεδαπανᾶτο καὶ 10 ἐπεθύμει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν καὶ φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ πολὺ ἦν, γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστολὴν δεητήριον καὶ ἐκπέμπει ταύτην μετὰ Ἀνανίου τινὸς ζωγράφου τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν μορφήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἱστορεῖν καὶ ἀγαγεῖν. Καταλαβὼν 15 οὖν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Ἀνανίας καὶ εὗρων τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπιδίδει αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Αὐγάρου· ἀγωνίζεται οὖν ὅση ἰσχύει αὐτοῦ τὴν θείαν μορφήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' ὑλικῶν χρωμάτων εἰς χάρτην ἐγγράψαι ἀπαγαγεῖν.

Ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὴν μορφήν ἱστορεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν 20 ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων Ἀνανία, τῶν ἀνεφίκτων μὴ ἐπιχείρει καὶ αἰτήσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὕδωρ καὶ νίψας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ σινδόνι, τοῦτο ἐνὰπομάττει καὶ δίδει τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ λέγων ἀπόδωκε τῷ ἀποστείλαντί σε Αὐγαρος καὶ εἶπε αὐτοῦ ἡ χάρις μετὰ σοῦ καὶ μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις καὶ μακάριος εἶ Αὐγαρε καὶ τρισμακάριος ὅτι μὴ εἰδὼς με πεπίστευκας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· 25 ἄπε ὁ Αὐγαρος μετὰ πίστεος δεξιόμενος καὶ προσκυνήσας τὴν θείαν μορφήν καὶ ὄλῳ τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεὶς παραχρῆμα ἴαθη. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σωτηρίον πάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν Θαδδαῖος ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Αὐγαρον παρεγένετο καὶ βαπτίζει τοῦτον πανοικί καὶ τὸν ἕτερον λαὸν τῆς Ἑδέσης. Ὁ δὲ Αὐγαρος τὴν θείαν μορφήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὴν πύλην τῆς πόλεως 30 θεοπρεπῶς ἀνestsείλωσε, δόγμα ἐκθέμενος πάντας ἐκείνην προσκυνεῖν, ἐπιγράψας καὶ ταῦτα εἰς πίστωσιν τοῖς ὁρώσιν λέγων· Χριστε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει ποτὲ .

The Synaxarion according to Iveron 797

On the same day, we recall how the form of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was not made by human hands, was brought from the city of Edessa to the queen of cities, Constantinople.

In life you wiped your form onto a linen cloth

5 In death you were placed in the ^linal linen shroud.

A manmade tile bears your form, not made by human hands,

My Christ, creator of all.

When the goodness of our Lord Jesus Christ was working many wonders, his fame reached Abgar the ruler of Edessa. Abgar was being
10 eaten away by black leprosy and arthritis, and wanted to see Jesus and hear his voice, although he could not go to him on account of his illness. As it was such a long journey he wrote a letter to Jesus with a request and sent it with Ananias, an artist, telling him to paint the form of Christ in all detail and take it back to him. Ananias came
15 to Jerusalem, found Jesus Christ, and gave him the letter from Abgar. He was doing all he could to paint the divine form of Christ on the papyrus, but when Jesus saw that he could not paint his form, he called him over and said, Ananias, do not attempt what is impossible. Jesus then asked for water, washed his face and dried it on a linen cloth. He
20 gave it to Ananias saying, Give this to Abgar, the one who sent you, and say to him, Grace be with you, for great is your faith. And blessed are you, Abgar, and thrice blessed, because you have believed without seeing me , and the rest of what is in the letter. Agbar received this with faith, worshipped the divine form and put it on all his body he
25 was immediately healed. After the saving passion and ascension, Thaddaeus the apostle came to Abgar and baptised him together with all his household and the rest of the population of Edessa. Abgar put the divine form of Christ up on the city gateway, a most suitable place, and ordered everyone to worship it. He also wrote these words for the
30 crowds of believers, Christ, God, whoever trusts in you will never be

Ἐτῶν δὲ διαγενομένων πολλῶν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἑδέσης εἰ-
 δωλολάτρης τίς ἀπηνής καὶ ἀπάνθρωπος καὶ ἡβουλήθη τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ καθελεῖν καὶ εἶδωλον ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐκεῖσε καταπῆξαι. Τοῦτο γνοὺς
 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἑδέσης ευσεβῆς ὢν καὶ θρυαλλίδα πρὸς τῇ θείᾳ ἐκείνῃ
 εἰκόνι ἀνάψας καὶ κέραμον ἐπιθεῖς, τιτάνῳ καὶ πλίνθοις ἔξωθεν ταύτην 5
 ἀποφράξας εἰς ὁμαλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ τεῖχος ἀπηύθυνε. Τί οὖν τὸ ἐντεῦ-
 θεν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκστρατεύσαντες κατὰ τῆς Ἑδέσης. Λαβὼν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
 Εὐλάλιος τὴν ἀχειροποιήτον εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ εἰσήλθεν ὁ ἐπίσκο-
 πος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κρατῶν τὴν εἰκόνα λάμπουσαν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον. Οἱ δὲ 10
 Πέρσαι ἰδόντες τὴν θαυμαστὴν εἰκόνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πῦρ αὐτοὺς διώκει
 καὶ ὑπεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἡλευθερώθη ἡ πόλις ἐξ αὐτῶν. Χρόνων δὲ
 διαδραμόντων πολλῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ Βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ δέδωκε τῷ
 ἀμηγῷ τῆς Ἑδέσης ἀργυρίου σταθμὸν χιλιάδας δώδεκα καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς
 διακοσίους οὓς εἶχε τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς σίδηρα. Καὶ στεί- 15
 λας αὐτὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἑδέσης ἀντίληφε τὴν ἱερὰν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 καὶ τὸ χρυστόγραφον ἐπιστολίδιον ᾧ οἱ σταλέντες ἐπίσκοποι ἀνελάβοντο
 καὶ τῇ ῥωμαίων γῇ προσέφερον παντοία ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελαύνων νοσή-
 ματα καὶ δαίμονες ἡλαύνοντο καὶ ἔκραζον ἀπόλαβε Κωνσταντινούπο-
 λιν τὸν μέγαν θησαυρὸν καὶ σύ Ῥωμανὲ Πορφυρογεννητε βασιλεῖα , τὴν
 προκοπὴν τῆς βασιλείας κατὰ τὴν ἐξ καὶ δεκάτην τοῦ αὐγούστου. Ὁ δὲ 20
 βασιλεὺς πατριάρχης ταύτην καταπασάμενοι ἔκτοτε πανήγυριν φαιδρὰν
 ἐκτελοῦσιν.

let down. Many years went by and a harsh and savage idolater became king in Edessa, who wanted to destroy the image of Christ and set up an idol in its place. The bishop of Edessa, a Godfearing man, found out about this and lit a lamp in front of the divine image, put a tile on
5 top of it and sealed the surface off with gypsum and bricks, finishing the wall off on the same level. And what happened when the Persians attacked Edessa? Bishop Eulalius took the image of the Lord, which had not been made by human hands, and went onto the battle field holding the image, shining brighter than the sun. When the Persians
10 saw the miracle-working image, they thought it was there pursuing them and left, accomplishing nothing. And so the city was freed from them. A long time went by and in the days of the emperor Romanus, he gave the emir of Edessa twelve thousand silver coins and two hundred Saracen prisoners of war that the emperor was holding in chains. He
15 handed them over to the king of Edessa and took in exchange the holy image of Christ, together with the letter Christ wrote, which the accompanying bishops took charge of. When they came into Roman territory, everyone was cured of their illnesses, and demons were driven out shouting, Receive this great treasure, Constantinople, and you,
20 Romanus Porphyrogenitus, success in your kingdom. This took place on the sixteenth of August. The emperor and the bishop established the day as a joyful celebration thereafter.

Epistola Abgari secundum Protaton 83 (P) et Vatopedi 928 (V)

Protaton 83 (saec. XII) f.288b - 290a
Vatopedi 928 (saec XII) f. 320b - 322a

Ἐπιστολή γραφεῖσα ὑπὸ Αὐγαρου τοπάρχου σωτῆρι Ἰησοῦ καὶ πεμφθεῖ-
σα δι' Ἀνανίου κούρσορος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Αὐγαρος τοπάρχης Ἰησοῦ Σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν πόλει Ἱερο-
σολύμοις, χαίρειν. Ἦκουσταί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ, καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱαμάτων, ὥς
ὅτι ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν λό- 5
γῳ τυφλοὺς βλέπειν ποιεῖς χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις καὶ
ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα ἐκβάλλεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους
θεραπεύεις καὶ γυναῖκα αἰμορροοῦσαν σοῦ ἀψαμένην ἰάσω καὶ νεκροὺς
ἡγείρας. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἔτερον τῶν
δύο· ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ ὅτι υἱὸς 10
εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι καὶ
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με καὶ τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω, θεραπεύσεις. Ἦκουσταί δέ μοι ὅτι καὶ
οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσὶ σοὶ καὶ βούλονται σε ἀποκτεῖναι. Πόλις οὖν
ἐστὶ μοι σεμνή, ἥτις ἀρκέσει ἀμφοτέροις, ἀμήν.

Τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα παρὰ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς Αὐγαρον καὶ πεμφθέντα δι' Ἀνα- 15
νίου κούρσορος.

Δέον πρῶτον δι' ὃ ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πληρῶσαι καὶ
μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ἀναληφθῆναι με πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντά με, καὶ μετὰ τὸ
ἀναληφθῆναι με ἀποστελῶ σοὶ ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν μου ὀνόματι Θαδδαῖον
τὸν καὶ Θωμᾶν, ὅστις θεραπεύσει καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ καὶ ζωὴν σοὶ παράσχει 20
καὶ τῇ πόλει σου, ἥτις καλεῖται Ἐδεσσα, πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τε αὐτῆς τινα
κατισχύειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Γέγραπται γάρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ ἰδόντες
με καὶ πιστεύσαντες· τρισμακάριοι δὲ οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ μὴ ἑωρακώς με ἐπίστευσας ἡτοίμασαι σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς
καὶ σώματος τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν βλεπόντων σε· καὶ γὰρ 25
ἐγὼ ἔκλινα οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατήλθον διὰ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥκησα
δὲ παρθενικὴν οἴκησιν ἵνα τὴν παράβασιν τῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐξαλείψω·
ἐαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσα ἵνα ὑμᾶς μεγαλύνω· αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή μου ὅπου
ἐὰν προβληθῇ, εἴτε ἐν δίκῃ εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ, εἴτε ἐν πυρώσουσιν ἢ φρικιώσιν

4 Ἦκουσαι] Ἦκουστέ V | ὥς om. V 5 γενομένων V 12 καὶ (1) om. V 14 ἥτις]
εἴ τις V 17 18 καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι om. V 18 πέμψαντά με] add. πατρός V
20 καὶ] κε V | θεραπεύσει] καὶ θεραπεύσει V 23 p. 118.6 τρισμακάριοι ... deperditus
V

The Abgar Letters as recorded separately in
Mount Athos manuscripts Protaton 83 and Vatopedi 928

A letter written by Abgar the ruler to Jesus the Saviour and sent to Jerusalem with Ananias the messenger. Abgar the ruler to Jesus the good Saviour who has appeared in the city of Jerusalem greetings. I have heard about you and your cures, about how without medicine
5 or herbs you heal people. By your word only you give sight to the blind, make the lame walk, the deaf hear, you heal lepers, you cast out unclean demons by your word, you cure those who are tortured by lengthy illnesses. You healed a woman with a blood flow who touched you, and you raise the dead. I have heard all this about you and come
10 to the following conclusion either you are God who has come down from heaven to do this, or you are the son of God and do it. By writing to you I am asking you to take the trouble to come to me and heal my suffering. I have also heard that the Jews are murmuring against you and seek to kill you. I have a holy city, which is large enough for both
15 of us. Amen.

Jesus answer to Abgar sent with Ananias the messenger. First of all I have to fulfil what I was sent here for, and after that I have to be taken up to the one who sent me. After I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples, whose name is Thaddaeus although he is
20 also called Thomas. He will heal you and those with you, and give you eternal life. He will also make it impossible for any enemy to conquer your city, which is called Edessa. It is written about me that blessed are those who see me and believe, but thrice blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe. Since you have not seen me and have believed in
25 me, your whole household will be saved in both body and soul in order that all who look on you will be saved. I left heaven and came down to earth for the sake of mankind. I came into a virgin's womb so that the sin of Eden could be wiped away. I humbled myself to glorify you. Wherever this letter of mine is read, whether in private or in public,

ἢ κατάδεσμον ἔχουσιν ἢ ὑπέρβασι φαρμακειῶν ἔχουσιν, ἢ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ἐστί, διαλυθήσονται. Ἐστω δὲ ὁ φορῶν αὐτὴν ἀγνὸς ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος καὶ λέγει αὐτὴν εἰς ἴασιν εἶναι καὶ χαρὰν βεβαίαν. Διὸτι ὁλόγραφος γέγραπται τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τῆς ἐμῆς· ἐσφράγισα δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἑπτὰ σφραγίσιν, αἵτινες ὑποτετα- 5 γμέναι εἰσίν. + Ψ ε ζ ε α Δ

for those in heat or those in cold, for those who have been bewitched
 or poisoned, or in other similar cases, they will be delivered. Whoever
 carries this letter should be holy and free from all evil, and should read
 it for healing and rm joy. I have written this letter myself and sealed it
 5 with my own seal. I have sealed this letter with seven seals, which are
 copied below. + $\Psi \varepsilon \zeta \varepsilon \alpha \Delta$

Ἐπιστολὴ Αὐγάρου πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

Ἦκουσται ἐμοὶ τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱαμάτων, ὧν ἄνευ βοτανῶν καὶ φαρμάκων ποιεῖς θεραπείας, ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ, τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπειν χαρίζεις, κωφοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις καὶ γυναῖκα ἀμοορροῦσαν σου ἀψαμένην 5 ἰάσω καὶ συγκύπτουσαν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγείρας. Καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ ἄνθρωπε, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην εἰς δεύτερον τὸ ἕτερον· ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς ταῦτα ποιῶν· διὰ τοῦτο δέομαι σου μετὰ γραμμάτων, καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἕως ἐμοῦ ἐλθὼν μὴ ἀπαξιώσῃ ἵνα καὶ τὸ πάθος ὅπερ ἔχω θεραπεύσῃ καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον 10 καὶ εἰρήνην παρέχῃς. Καὶ ποιήσῃς τῇ πόλει μου τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲνα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτὴν ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἦκούσται μου καὶ τοῦτο περὶ σου, Κύριε, ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσίν σε, καὶ βούλονται σε ἀνελεῖν. Ἔστι οὖν μοι πόλις βραχυτάτη καὶ σεμνή, ἥστις ἀρκέσει ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν. Ἐρρωσθαί μοι κέλευσον, Κύριέ μου. 15

Καὶ δεξάμενος ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντέγραψε πρὸς Αὐγαρον

Μακάριος εἶ, Αὐγαρε, καὶ μακάρια ἡ πόλις σου, ἥτις καλεῖται Ἔδεσσα. Μακάριος εἶ ὅτι ἐπίστευσας εἰς ἐμὲ μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες, σὺ δὲ μὴ ἑωρακώς με πεπίστευκας, ὑγίεια ἐτοιμασθήσεται σοι διαπαντός, σοὶ τε καὶ τῇ πόλει 20 σου. Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἔγραψάς μοι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σε, δέον ἐστὶ πληρῶσαι ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με πατέρα· ἀποστελῶ δέ σοι ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν μου ὀνόματι Θαδδαῖον καὶ Θωμᾶς, ὅστις καὶ τὸ πάθος σου θεραπεύσει καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ εἰρήνην σοι παράσχοι καὶ ποιήσει τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱκανὸν, πρὸς μηδὲνα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς ἕως τῆς 25 συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Καὶ γὰρ ἔκλιναν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατήλθον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων· παρθενικὴν ὄκησα μήτραν ἵνα τὴν παράβασιν τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γενομένην ἐξαλείψω· ἐαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσα ἵνα μεγάλως ὑψώσω, πάντα ὑπομένω ἵνα ἀναβάσω εἰς ὕψος τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Αὕτη δέ μου ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅπου ἐὰν προβληθῇ, εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ 30

¹ The pages are unnumbered in this late manuscript.

A letter from Abgar to our Lord Jesus Christ. I have heard about you
 and your cures, about how without medicine or herbs you heal people.
 By your word only you give sight to the blind, make the deaf hear, the
 lame walk, you heal lepers, you cure those who are tortured by lengthy
 5 illnesses. You healed a woman with a blood flow who touched you, and
 you raised the son of the mourning widow from the dead. I have heard
 all this about you, my Lord, and come to the following conclusion
 you are the son of God and have come down from heaven to do this.
 I am therefore writing to you to ask you to deign to come to me and
 10 heal my suffering, and give me eternal life and peace. You can also
 make sure that no enemy will ever conquer my city until the end of the
 age. I have also heard, Lord, that the Jews are murmuring against you
 and seek to destroy you. I have a city that is small but holy, and large
 enough for both of us. Give the word for me to be healed, my Lord.

15 The Lord received the letter and wrote back to Abgar. Blessed are
 you, Abgar, and blessed is your city, which is called Edessa. Blessed are
 you for believing in me without having seen me. It is written about me
 that those who see me will not believe in me, and you have believed in
 me without having seen me and so good health is stored up for you and
 20 for your city forever. As for what you wrote to me about coming to you,
 first I have to fulfill and then be taken up to the Father who sent me.
 When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples called
 Thaddaeus and also Thomas, who will cure you and give you eternal
 25 life and peace. He will also see to it that no enemies ever conquer your
 city. I left heaven and came down to save mankind, and I dwelt in a
 virgin mother to wipe away the sin that was committed in the Garden
 of Eden. I humbled myself in order to glorify you. I endured everything
 so that I might exalt mankind. This is my letter and wherever it is read,

ἢ φυλακῇ, ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἢ ἐν ἄρχουσιν, ἢ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, ἢ ἐν ποταμῷ
 ἢ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ἐν νόσῳ ἢ ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ ἢ ἐν συκοφαντίᾳ ἢ ἐν δαμονικῇ
 συμφορᾷ καὶ διὰ πᾶσι καὶ παντοίων ἐστὶ συμφέρον, τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν εὐχὴν
 καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην ἔστω δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, ἄμεμπτος,
 ἀπεχόμενος ἀπο παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ 5
 αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας ἀναγινώσκων
 αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ ποίμνια καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ ἔσται εὐλογημένη
 ὅτι ὁλόγραφος ἐστὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ μου, ἐσφράγισα δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην,
 σφραγίδας ζ αἵτινες εἰσὶν ὑποτεταγμέναι ἐνθάδε + + Y E X P Δ

Ὁ μὲν σταυρὸς δηλοῖ ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνασταστήσα παγὴς ἐν αὐτῷ ὅς 10
 ἄνθρωπος ὡς καὶ θεὸς ἀπαθῆς ἤμεινα. Τὸ + δηλοῖ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος
 οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀλλὰ θεὸς μέγας καὶ πάντων κτήσης. Τὸ ε δηλοῖ ἐγὼ θεὸς
 πρῶτος καὶ πλήν μου ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστιν. Τὸ χ δηλοῖ Χερουβὶμ καὶ Σεραφὶμ
 ἐγὼ ἀναπέπαυμαι. Τὸ ρ δηλοῖ ῥύστης ἐγενόμενην πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὡς
 θεὸς μέγας. Τὸ υ δηλοῖ ὑψιλὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν. Τὸ δ δηλοῖ 15
 διηνεκῶς ζῶ καὶ διαμένω εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

whether on the road or in prison, in a court of justice or in the senate house, or in the royal palace or in a river or on the sea, or in illness or sickness, or if you are falsely accused, or in cases of demonic possession, in all kinds of difficulties, whoever has this prayer and this letter, may
 5 such a man be just, blameless, and kept safe from all trouble. Whoever reads it in his house or over his cattle or over his vineyard, reading it in his house, and over his cattle and over, they will be blessed because this whole letter was written by my own hand and I have sealed this letter with seven seals, which are given below + + Ψ E X P Δ.

- 10 The cross means that I rose from the dead and that I underwent it as a man, although I was still God incapable of suffering. The Ψ means that I am not a mere man but a great God, the creator of everything. The E means that I am God alone and there is none besides me. The X means Cherubim and Seraphim, I rest (on them). The P means that I
 15 became the deliverer of all mankind as a great God. The Y means that I am a great king and God of Gods. The Δ means that I live eternally and exist forever and ever.¹

¹ The explanations (apart from the cross) all depend on the first letter of the relevant Greek word. Ψ is the first letter of ψιλός (mere), E is the first letter of ἐγώ (the first person singular pronoun), X is the first letter of χερουβim (Cherubim), P is the first letter of ῥύστης (deliverer), and Δ is the first letter of the Greek word διηνεχώς (eternal). The explanation in the seals in this manuscript leaves much to be desired. An explanation is given of the letter Y when it is not given as one of the seven letters, and the grammar in the sentence about the Cherubim and Seraphim is faulty. That said, the explanation of the letter Ψ makes more sense here than it does in Iveron 433.

The Menaion

Codices

ML ₁	Megistes Lavras 393 saec. XIII f. 76a - 78b
ML ₂	Megistes Lavras 751 saec. XVI f. 143b - 154a
ML ₃	Megistes Lavras 760 saec. XIII f. 139b - 147a
ML ₄	Megistes Lavras 905 saec. XIII f. 251a - 258a
ML ₅	Megistes Lavras 1284 saec. XIV (1341) f. 259a - 265b
P	Panteleemon 54 saec. XII f. 19b - 28a
D	Docheiariou 32 saec. XII f. 102b - 111b
G	Hosiou Gregorion 228 saec. XII f. 163b - 178b
K	Koutloumousiou 3404 saec. XVI f. 108a - 111a
Iv	Iveron 1684 saec. XVIII f. 80b - 88a

ML₁ Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις. Εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον καὶ ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἑδέσης ἀνακομισθεῖσαν.

ML₂ Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις. Εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

ML₄ Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις. Εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον καὶ ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

5

ML₅ P D Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις. Ἡ ἐξ Ἑδέσης ἀνακομιδὴ τοῦ ἁγίου μανδυλίου.

Iv G Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, ις. Ἡ ἐξ Ἑδέσης ἀνακομιδὴ τῆς ἀχειροποίητου εἰκόνης τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτοι τοῦ ἁγίου μανδήλιου.

K Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις. Ἡ ἐξ Ἑδέσης ἀνακομιδὴ τῆς ἀχειροποίητου εἰκόνης τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτοι τοῦ ἁγίου μανδήλιου.

10

The Menaion

ML₁ On the sixteenth day of the same month. In memory of the coming of the holy image of Christ our true God, which was not made by human hands, from Edessa.

ML₂ On the sixteenth day of the same month. In memory of the holy
5 image of Christ our God.

ML₄ On the sixteenth day of the same month. In memory of the holy image of Christ our God, which was not made by human hands.

ML₅P D On the sixteenth day of the same month. The coming of the Holy Mandylion from Edessa.

10 Iv G On the sixteenth day of the same month. The coming of the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was not made by human hands, from Edessa, also called the Holy Mandylion.

K The same month, on the sixteenth day. The coming of the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was not made by human hands, from
15 Edessa, also called the Holy Mandylion.

Group I - ML_I ML₄ ML₅ Iv P D

Ὁ ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ Θεὸς ὑπάρχων δόξης ὡς ἀπαύγασμα καὶ χαρακτήρ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν ἀμέτρητον βουλήσει θεία· εἰκὼν ὥράθη δούλου φορέσας μορφήν· ταύτης τὴν ἐμφέρειαν μόνος ὡς οἶδεν αὐτὸς· τὴν ἀκριβῆ διετύπωσε θεοχαράκτως ἐν ἐκμαγείῳ τῷ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· ἥς τῇ 5 ἐλεύσει ἐπεκρότησε σὺν τοῖς βροτοῖς τῶν ἀγγέλων πληθὺς καὶ πεφώτισται κόσμος ὁρατὸς τε καὶ ἀόρατος.

Ὁ θεοπτία ποτὲ τῶν ὀπισθίων Μωσέως τὸ πρόσωπον παραδοξάσας Θεὸς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ θεοχάρακτον μόνον ἐκπέμψας τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι Ἰσρα-ηλίτῃ λαῷ, ἰδοὺ ἐπεδήμησεν ὡς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκ γῆς βαρβαρικῆς προε- 10 χόμενος τῇ Χριστωνύμῳ μεγαλοπόλει τοῦ νεολέκτου λαοῦ, διὰ τοῦ θείου χάρακτῆρος, τῆς πρωτοτύπου αὐτοῦ φρικτῆς ὄψεως ὃν πρὸς πρόσωπον βλέπειν ἀξιούμενοι δοξάζομεν.

Ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς κτίσεως ἀπάσης πτωχείαν ἐκούσιον καταδεξάμενος καταπλουτίζει θεότητα τοὺς ἐπιγνῶντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναρχον κυριότητα, 15 διό καὶ πρὸς Αὐγαρον τὰ θεοχάρακτα γράμματα πέμψας αἰτήσαντα τὴν σωτηρίαν ῥώννυσι τοῦτον τῷ ἐκμαγείῳ αὐτοῦ μορφῆς τῆς θείας, ἥς τὴν ἔλευσιν περιχαρῶς ἐορτάζοντες νῦν εὐφραινόμεθα πίστει φωτισμὸν ἀπαρ-νύμενοι.

Group II - ML_I

20

Μωσῆς ἐκζητήσας ἰδεῖν σε σῶτερ ἐν ὅπῃ τῆς πέτρας τῶν ὀπισθίων τὴν δόξαν τεθέαται· οὐ ταύτην σου τὴν φύσιν αὖρα Ἥλιας λεπτοτάτῃ καὶ οὐ σεισμῷ βιαίῳ εἶδεν ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἄνω καθαρθεὶς τὰς αἰσθήσεις τὸν ἀθέατον ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες οὐ μὲν αἰνίγματι ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι σε θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν βλέπομεν. 25

Ἐμυσταγωγεῖτο Μωσῆς ἐν ὄρει κιβωτοῦ τὸν τύπον ἐμπνεύσει θεία, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄχραντον τοῦ ζωοδότου τύπον ὅλον αὐτὸν ἀξιοθέντες ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι· δόξῃ τῆς χάριτος τὰς ὄψεις δοξαζόμεθα πάντες· ἐπε-φάνη γὰρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ φῶς διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια. 30

11 νεονέκτου P

14 ἀπάσης ML₄

15 κυριότητα om. Iv

17 ἥς] ὧν ML_I18 ἐορτάζοντες] ἐορτάζοντες ML₄

Group One

The one who is God in the form of God, like the radiance and picture of the glory of God. The image was made visible, bearing the form of a servant, through immeasurable mercy and by the divine will, the
 5 likeness as only he himself has seen. The image of God was imprinted with all detail in the likeness of his face. The multitude of angels rejoices with mortals at its coming and the world is lit up, both seen and unseen.

God glorified Moses with a vision of the back of the divine attributes, and only sent a likeness of God through him to the unbelieving Is-
 10 raelites. Behold, the image has left an unbelieving land just as the Israelites left Egypt and has come to the great Christian capital of the new chosen people, through the divine likeness and the awesome appearance of his face. We who have been deemed worthy of looking upon his face glorify him.

15 He who rules over all creation willingly took on poverty, enriching his divinity and those who know his lordship with no beginning. And so he sent the God-written letter to Abgar who had asked for salvation. We joyfully and enthusiastically keep the feast of the imprint of the divine form, we rejoice in faith, drinking in its light.

20

Group Two

Moses wished to see you, Saviour, and saw your glory from a cleft behind the rocks. Elijah did not behold your being either in the light breeze or in the powerful earthquake. As is attainable from on high, you have purified our perception and now we can all see you, God and
 25 man, the unseen one, not in a mystery, but in a real image.

Moses took part in the form of the ark on the mountain by divine inspiration. We have been deemed worthy to see and worship the whole immaculate form of the author of life. We all praise the image of your face in the glory of grace. The light of salvation has shone through the
 30 image of Christ, who is God, grace and truth.

Group III - ML₁ ML₄ ML₅ Iv P D

Σοῦ τοῦ παραγαγόντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα τὸ πρόσθεν ὃν ἐμορφώθης αὐθις, δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν δεξάμενοι παναληθῶς ἐμφέρεϊαν τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον, σὺν ἀγγέλοις σὲ Χριστὲ δοξάζομεν.

Σὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ποθοῦσιν εὐπρόσιτον τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τε πᾶσιν εὐήκοον οἰκτίρμον διὰ πολλὴν ἀγαθότητα, δι' ἣν προσηύκω δέσποτα τῆς ὠραιότητος σου τὸν ἐραστὴν θαυμαζόμεν. 5

Ἔστησας τῷ τοπάρχῃ τῆς σχέσεως τῆς περὶ σὲ τὸν πόθον, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον τῷ ἱλαρῷ σου τῆς δόσεως τῷ παντουργῷ τοῦ κράτους σου τεθεαμένῳ σε, σῶτερ ἐν τῷ ἐκτυπώματι. 10

Group IV - ML₁ ML₂ ML₄ ML₅ Iv D

Ἄγνοοῦντι, τὸ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου, πρὸς ἣν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὲ τοὺς φθαρτοὺς καὶ χαμερπεῖς ἀνάγων, ὁ τοῖς ἀύλοις χερουβὶμ ἀπρόσιτος, συγκατῆλθ' ἐμοὶ μέχρι καὶ ἄδου· τὸν σὸν ἀπόστολον τῷ Αὐτάγῳ Χριστῇ, ἔπεμψας μυστήριον σοφίζοντα. 15

Κατιδὼν σου, λόγε καὶ σοφία, τοῦ παντοδυναμένου πατρὸς, θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ἀναφέστατε πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, τὸ τῆς εἰκόνης ὅλον ἀνθρωπόμορφον, κατεπλήττετο θεὸν γινώσκων σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος καὶ ψυχῆς νοερᾶς προσεπιλημμένον ὁ τοπάρχης σε.

Ἀπειθεία τῇ περὶ τὴν θείαν τοῦ πεποιηκότος αὐτόν, κόρη, φρικτὴν ἐντολὴν ὁ γενάρχης τῆς ἀθανασίας πανολεθρίαν ἀντικατηλλάξατο τὸν ζωῆς δὲ χορηγὸν τοῖς οὔσι κυφορήσασα ἀφθαρσίας ἡμᾶς μόνη δυναστεία ἐκραταίωσας. 20

7 θαυμαζόμεν] θαυμάζομενον Iv P 8 Ἔστησας] Στήσαν ML₄ 10 ἐν τῷ ἐκτυπώματι] τὰ σεραφίμ τῇ δόξῃ Χριστοῦ Iv 13 ἀνάγων] ἀγάθων ML₂ ML₄ Iv D 14 συγκατῆλθε] συγκατῆλθες ML₂ 16 17 τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ ML₁ ML₅ D 20 τῇ] τὴν ML₂ | φρικτὴν] φικτὴν Iv, φρικτὴ ML₄ 22 23 δὐναστείας ML₁ ML₂ ML₄ ML₅ Iv D

Group Three

In the beginning you created man according to your image. We receive the man you made again through mercy, Christ, the true and unchanging likeness, and praise you with the angels.

5 We wonder at you in longing, accessible to all who ask, mercifully hearing us through your great goodness, by which it is fitting that you are Lord. We praise the beauty of your magnificence.

O Saviour, you made yourself visible to the ruler, fulfilling his desire to see your nature and to be cured of his illness, grateful for your gift,
10 your power to create, when he saw you in the gulf.

Group Four

He who is unapproachable on the winds of the Cherubim comes all the way down to hell, to me, ignorant of your heavenly kingdom, to which in your goodness you take us, mortal and unworthy. O Christ, you sent
15 your apostle, a mystery of wisdom, to Abgar.

Looking upon the whole human form of your image, Word and wisdom of the Almighty Father, the unseen God, untouchable before the ages, the ruler was amazed, contemplating you as God who had taken on flesh, blood and soul.

20 O Maiden, the founder of our race exchanged immortality for destruction, by disobedience to the divine and dread command of his Maker. You who bore the giver of life to all beings have strengthened us by the power of incorruptibility.

Group V - ML₁ ML₂ ML₄ ML₅ Iv P D

Κατὰ τὴν θεϊαν φύσιν, σῶτερ, ὁ ὑπάρχων πάντη ἀνείδεος καθ' ὃ βρο-
τὸς δὲ καὶ θεάνθρωπος, γραπτὸς ἀχρωμάτιστον τυπώσας σεαντόν τοῦ
φωτισμοῦ σου τοῦ προσώπου τῆς αὐτοψίας τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην οὐκ ἀπεδοκί-
μασας.

5

Αὐτοχαράκτῳ πρωτοτύπῳ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐξ εἰκονίσματι ὁμοιομόρφῳ
θεουργῶ μορφῇ προσενατίζοντες οἱ πάντων δεσποτῶν ἐξηρημένοι, μετ'
αἰδούς τε καὶ εὐλαβείας ὥς πεποιθότες ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ σκέπονται καὶ κρα-
ταιοῦνται.

Ἐπεὶ Μωσέα τὸν θεόπτην θεογράφους πλάκας δεξάμενον ἐμεγαλύν- 10
θης, πανσεβάσμιε τοπάρχα, δεξάμενος σεπτὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου
μακαρίζουσάν σε τῆς εὐσεβείας πεπιστευκότα, ἃς οὐδόλως ἔβλεψας θαυ-
ματουργίας.

Group VIa - ML₃ G

Ἀπανιστάμενος τὴν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν τὸ ἱερόν, 15
σῶτερ, ἐκμαγειὸν σου νῦν ὁ θεόφρων βασιλεὺς πλησίασαν ὑποδέχεται.

Γλυκὺ μὲν ἥλιος αὐγάζων ὄμματα, γλυκυτέρα δὲ ὄψις ἢ σὴ, Χριστέ, τοῦ
ἀφομοιώματος ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὰ αἰσθητά, αὕτη δὲ τὰ νοητά φωταυγεῖ.

Group VIb - ML₃ (VIa) G (sep.)

Μικρὰ σοι πόλις ὑποδοχὴν πρώων κατηυτρέπει, Χριστέ, ἦν ἡ Θαδδαίου 20
ἐπέλευσις νόσων ἀπαλάττει καὶ τῆς χειρὸς σου γραφὴ καὶ θεῖον ἀποσφρά-
γισμα τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Group VIIa - ML₃ G

Αἱ τῶν χαρίτων σου δωρεαὶ ὑπερπληθύνθησαν, Χριστέ, ἃ γὰρ τὸ πρώων ἡ 25
Ἔδεσα ἐγκολπωσαμένη ἐνεκανχήσατο ἡ νέα δεχομένη Ῥώμη ἀγάλλεται.

4 οἰκέτην] ἱκετὴν ML₁ ML₂ ML₄ D 4 5 ἀπεδοκίμασας] add. Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ
ἔργα κύριου τὸν κύριον βοῶντα καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας Iv 10 Ἐπεγνωσαία ML₂
12 εὐσεβείας] εὐλαβείας ML₂¹ 15 Ἀπανιστάμενον G | τὴν (1)] τῆς G 16 πλησίασαν
G

Group Five

O Saviour, in your divine nature you are without visible shape, but as a mortal you took on the form of man. You imprinted an image of yourself with no paint and you did not spurn the form of a servant,
 5 even in your light-giving and supernatural face.

Looking in awe at the self-imprinted prototype of the Saviour in a representation, the same as the divine form, we have no other Lord. Trusting in it with praise and blessings, people are protected and strengthened.

10 Most worshipful one, you have been glorified above Moses who saw God and received the tablets written by God. You received a sacred letter of God's word from the ruler, blessing you. He believed in your piety and you deigned to cure him.

Group Six

15 Your holy imprint, O Saviour, leaves the city in the east and comes towards ours. The emperor, thoughts bent on God, receives it.

Sweet is the sun shining on our eyes, but the likeness of your face, Christ, is even sweeter. One shines with light that can be felt physically, and the other with light for the mind.

20 Small was the city that first received you, Christ, which Thaddaeus visited and set free from illness, and the writing of your hand and the imprint of your face.

Group Seven

Christ, the gifts of your graces have been multiplied. The new Rome
 25 rejoices on receiving what Edessa once proudly held in its breast.

Group VIIb - ML₃ (VIIa) G (sepf.)

Ὡραιώτης κάλλει παρὰ πάντας, σῶτερ, τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν βροτῶν κἄν γὰρ οὐκ εἶδος εἶχες οὐδὲ κάλλος ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πάθους ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάντα κατεφώτιζες καὶ δηλοῖ σου τῆς μορφῆς ἡ θεά, ἥς τὸ ὁμοίωμα ῥάκει ἐκτυπωθέν ὥσπερ θησαυρὸν ἡμῖν δεδώρησαι.

5

Σῆς ἰσχύος προσαφαιρεθείσα τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἡ πληθὺς ὥσπερ ἐξ ἄλλοφυλῶν κιβωτὸν Ἰσραηλίτην νέον τὸ τοῦ προσώπου νῦν προσεπιδέδωκεν ἐκμαγεῖον σοῦ, Χριστέ καὶ δόξαν ἦν προσεκτήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ θεμιτόν, ἅγια κυσὶ προσεπιρρίπτεσθαι.

Group VIII - ML₃ G

10

Ῥήματι μὲν πᾶσαν νόσον, λόγε θεοῦ, ἐφυγάδευσας ἐπὶ γῆς ἐνδημῶν ἀλλὰ κόλπους πρὸς πατρικοὺς ἀνερχόμενος διὰ τοῦ ἐκτυπώματος θεραπεύεις τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν.

Ὁ κτίσας λόγῳ πάντα καὶ μορφωθείς τὸ ἀλλότριον τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν τὰ ιδιώματα ἅπερ ὑποδεχόμενοι ἐν χαρᾷ εὐφραυνόμεθα.

15

Ψυχῆς ἐξ ὅλης ζητήσας τῆς σῆς ιδέας ἐκσφράγισμα ὁ πίστος βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἐζήτησεν, οὕτως ἔτυχε, κύριε, κατὰλληλον εὐράμενος θείου νόμου τὸ πλήρωμα.

Group IX - ML₃ G

20

Ἐδέσης βασιλεὺς βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων οὐ σκηπτρα καὶ στρατὸν, ἀλλὰ πλήθη θανυμάτων τῷ λόγῳ προφέροντα ἐπιγνούς σε ἰκέτευε τὸν θεάνθρωπον τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. Ἐκμαγεῖον δὲ ὡς σὲ ὁρῶν ἀνεβόα ἃ θεός σὺ καὶ κύριος .

3 τῷ ὄντι πάντα] τα πάντα ὄντι ML₃ 5 θησαυρὸς G | δεδώρηται G 6 Σῆς] Τῆς G 7 Ἰσραηλίτην G 12 κόλπους πρὸς πατρικοὺς] μόλπους τοὺς πατρικοὺς ML₃ 14 πάντα] τὰ πάντα G | ἀλλότριον] ἀλότριον ἀλλότριον G 15 καταλέλοιπεν] καταλέλιπεν G | τὰ ιδιώματα ἅπερ ὑποδεχόμενοι] ιδιώματα ἀποδεχόμενοι G 18 νόμου] πόθου G

O Saviour, you were more beautiful than all men. You were neither attractive nor beautiful at the time of your passion, but you shed light on everything, and your divine form has become visible. Your likeness, imprinted onto a cloth, has been given to us.

- 5 The greatness of your strength, removing from the Hagarenes, like a new Israelite ark, the imprint of your face, has now bestowed this gift together with the glory it has won. It is not fitting for holy objects to be thrown to the dogs.

Group Eight

- 10 When you were on earth, Word of God, you cured every illness with just your word. Now that you have returned to your Father's embrace, you heal our sickness through the cure.

- He who created everything with his word, and took on another form, left us the unique feature of his own form, and we greatly rejoice on
15 receiving it.

The faithful king sought the copy of your form with all his heart, and as he sought so he found, Lord, the appropriate fulfilment of the divine law.

Group Nine

- 20 The king of Edessa recognised you as king of all, not bearing a sceptre and army, but working a host of wonders with just a word. He asked you, man and God, to come to him. When he saw your imprint he cried out, You are Lord and God.

Group X - G K

Ὡ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος, ὁ προφήτας μόνον μελετῶν καὶ τέρατα
δυνάμεις τὲ θεωρῶν Ἰσραηλίτης λαὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην Χριστὸν καὶ λυτρω-
τὴν ἀποπέμπεται Κύριον ἀνήκοος δὲ γραφῶν καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων ἀθέατος
Αὐγαρος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦτον εὐλαβῶς προτρέπεται οἰκειώσασθαι δόξῃ 5
τὸν πηγάζοντα τὸ ἔλεος.

Ὡ θεοηγῆ τοῦ δόγματος ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει, πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα θεοῦ
καὶ τοῦτον ζητῶν δεκτὸς αὐτῷ φησί, τούτου σφραγίς τηλαυγῆς ὁ τὸ
πολὺ ἀμυστάμενος ἔλεος, ζητήσας καὶ εἰληφὼς τῆς θεανθρωποῦ μορφῆς
τὸ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτῷ χορείαν φυλάξαι ἐόρτιον ἰλασμόν σωτηρίαν 10
καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀπολύτρωσιν.

Χαίρε τῶν πιστῶν ὁμήγουρις καθορῶσα πίστει μορφὴν τὴν θεόγραφον
ἦν ἔγραψεν ἑαυτῷ, ὁ ἀσχημάτιστος ἐν νεύματι παντουργῷ, ὁ τὰ στοι-
χεῖα συνέχων προστάγματι, ὁ ὅρος ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῷ Αὐγάρῳ παρέσχε
πιστεύσαντι ταύτην προσκυνεῖν καὶ σέβειν ἄλλον ὥς παράκλητον ἀποστό- 15
λοις ὃν πάλαι οὐρανόθεν ἐξαπέστειλεν.

Group XI - G K

Σωματικῶς μορφωθῆναι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ τὸ πρὶν ἀσώματος εὐδοκία πατρι-
κῇ μὴ ἀπανηράμενος μορφῆς ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα.

Ἡ ἀπαράλακτος φύσις ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅρος ἀκριβέστατος τὴν βροτείαν 20
ὑπελθὼν σάρκα ἰδιώματα ἐν γῇ καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀπελθὼν.

Σαλευομένην ἀπάτη τοῦ δυσμενοῦς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου ἐδικαιώσας
Χριστέ τοῖς σεπτοῖς σου πάθεσιν αὐτὴν ἐδραιῶσαι καὶ μορφῆς τῷ ἐκτυπώ-
ματι.

Group XII - von Dobschütz, Christusbilder¹

25

Ποίοις οἱ γηγενεῖς ὄμμασιν ἐποψόμεθα σοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἦν τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων
στρατεύματα βλέπειν ἀδεῶς οὐ δεδύνηται θεϊκῷ φωτὶ ἀστραπτομένην;
Ἀπαίρει γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπίστων σήμερον καὶ πόλιν πρὸς βασιλίδα καὶ λαὸν

4 ἀποπέμπεται G 11 ἐλπίδα] ἐλπίδων G

¹ Ernst Von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 125-126 of second appendix.

Group Ten

O incredible wonder! The Jewish people alone cared for the prophets they saw the miracles and wonders of Christ in his goodness and rejected the Lord and redeemer. Abgar in his kingdom did not know
 5 the scriptures and had not seen any miracles, and yet in faith he made haste to establish contact in glory with the source of mercy.

O the divine sound of God's teaching for all peoples! Everyone who does the will of God and seeks him out will be declared acceptable for him. The shining seal, he who shows abundant mercy, sought the
 10 radiance of the form of God made man in purity for us to keep for him this joyous feast day, salvation and the hope of redemption.

Greetings to the assembly of the faithful, who in faith revere the divinely made form which the one who is without form made of himself through the spirit of creation. He who holds the universe together by
 15 his word, the radiance of the Father, sent it to Abgar in his belief to worship and revere as another Paraclete, which in the past he sent to the apostles from heaven.

Group Eleven

He who was bodiless at first did not refuse to take on a body among us
 20 through the Father's will. He granted us the divine figure of his form.

The unchanging nature, the precise definition of the Father took on human flesh and left us his appearance on earth when he went up to heaven.

O Christ, you justified your inheritance that had been shaken
 25 through the trickery of the evil one, and you strengthened it through your holy passion and the figure of your form.

Group Twelve

With what eyes shall we who are born on earth look upon your image, when the hosts of angels cannot look at it without fear as it flashed
 30 with divine light? Today it leaves the land of unbelievers and through the divine will comes to stay in the queen of cities, and amidst a

εὐσεβῇ ἐπιδημεῖ θεία νεύσει, ἥσπερ τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἐπευφραίνονται βασιλεῖς προσπίπτοντες ταύτῃ μετὰ φόβου, Χριστέ, καὶ πίστεως.

Ποίαις οἱ χοῖκοι ψάυσωμεν τῆς εἰκόνος σου, λόγε, παλάμαις; Οἱ ῥερωμένοι τοῖς πταίσμασι τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου θεοῦ ἡμῶν; Οἱ ἐν μολυσμοῖς τοῦ ἀπροσίτου; Καλύπτει τὰ Χερουβὶμ τὰς ὄψεις τρέμοντα, οὐ φέρει τὰ 5 Σεραφὶμ ὁρᾶν τὴν δόξαν σου. Φόβῳ δουλεύει σοι κτίσις. Μὴ οὖν κατακρίνης ἀναξίως σου τὴν μορφὴν, Χριστέ, τὴν φρικτὴν ἀσπαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐκ πίστεως.

Πάλιν δεσποτικῆς πάρεστι πανηγύρεως θεία ἡμέρα. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν ὑψίστοις καθηήμενος νῦν ἡμᾶς σαφῶς ἐπισκέψατο διὰ τῆς σεπτῆς αὐτοῦ εἰκόνος· 10 ὁ ἄνω τοῖς Χερουβὶμ ὡν ἀθεώρητος ὁρᾶται διὰ γραφῆς οἷσπερ ὁμοίωται πατὴρ ἀχράντῳ δακτύλῳ μορφωθείς ἀρρήτως καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἦν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ προσκυνοῦντες ἀγιαζόμεθα.

Τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου προσκυνοῦμεν, ἀγαθέ, αἰτούμενοι συγχώρησιν τῶν πταισμάτων ἡμῶν, Χριστέ ὁ θεός. Βουλῆσει γὰρ εὐδόκησας ἀνελ- 15 θεῖν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ, ἵνα ῥύσῃ οὖς ἔπλασας ἐκ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ὅθεν εὐχάριστοι βοῶμέν σοι· χαρᾶς ἐπλήρωσας τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ σῶσαι τὸν κόσμον, σῶτερ.

believing people. The emperors rejoice at its coming, Christ, and fall down before it in fear and faith.

With what hands shall we who are made of earth touch your image, O Word? How shall we, stained by sin, touch our sinless God? How
 5 shall we in de lement touch the unapproachable one? The Cherubim hide their faces in fear and the Seraphim cannot bear to look upon your glory. Creation serves you in fear. And so do not condemn us, Christ, who receive your awe- lled form unworthily but in faith.

Once more the divine day of the Lord s feast is here. He who is
 10 seated on high has now clearly come to us in his holy image, he who is not seen by the Cherubim on high is seen in an image by those he became like, indescribably formed by the unde led nger of the Father according to his likeness. We are made holy by worshipping it in faith and love.

15 We venerate your unde led image, o good one, and ask for forgiveness for our sins, Christ and God. You were willingly cruci ed to redeem those you had made from slavery under the enemy, and so we cry out to you in gratitude you have lled everything with joy by coming down to us to save the world, Saviour.

PLATES
1-15



1. Mandylion in side chapel at the monastery of Megisti Lavra, Mount Athos. Photograph by the author.



2. Mandyilion from the monastery of Stavronikita, Mount Athos. Photograph by the author.



3. Mandylion from the abandoned Skete of Agios Andreas, Mount Athos. Photograph by the author.



4. Modern Mandylion for sale to tourists in Ouranoupolis. Photograph by the author.



5. Mandylion at Sakli, Cappadocia. Photograph by Lennox Manton.
With kind permission of the photographer.



6. Mandylion at Sakli, Cappadocia (detail). Photograph by Lennox Manton.
With kind permission of the photographer.



7. Mandyion in the pool, Sakli, Cappadocia. Photograph by Lennox Manton. With kind permission of the photographer.

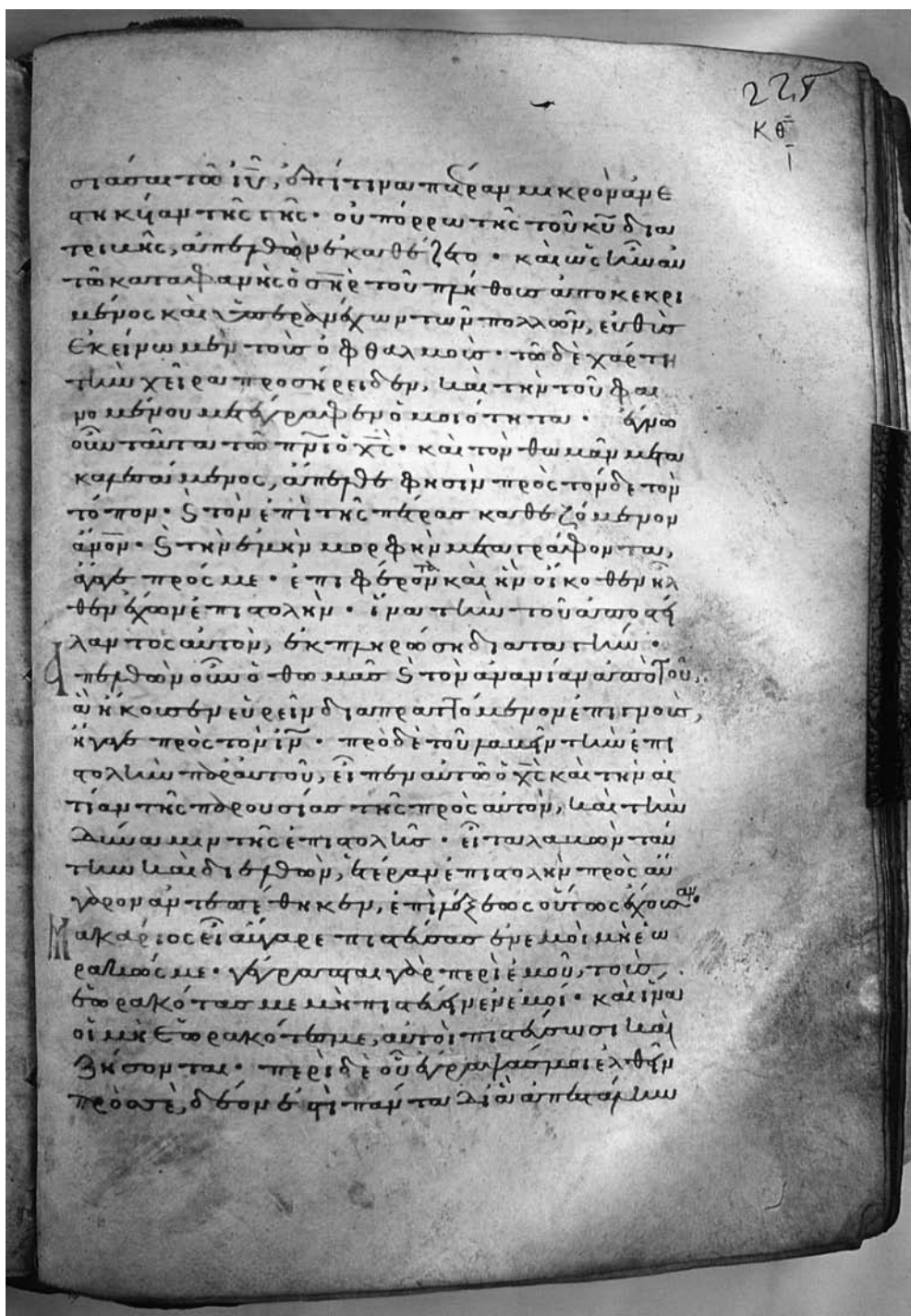
ΠΕΠΕΙΡΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΒΡΑΧΕΙ
ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ. ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ
ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΣ

† † †
ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΕΝ ΟΝΩΣΕΦΗΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ
ΦΡΑΣΕΙΣ. ΧΩΛΑΣΤΟ ΠΩΝΟΟΝ
ΤΕΣ ΕΙ ΠΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΕΧΩ. Η ΜΕΙΤΑ
ΜΕΤΟΠΟΝ Η ΚΕΙ ΚΟΨΑΜΕΝ ΠΑΛΙΝ.
ΑΛΩΣ ΤΗΡΕΥΓΕΡΩ ΘΙΦΙΛΤΑΤΟΙ
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ. ΤΗΤΑΡΡΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ
ΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΕΙΜΤΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ

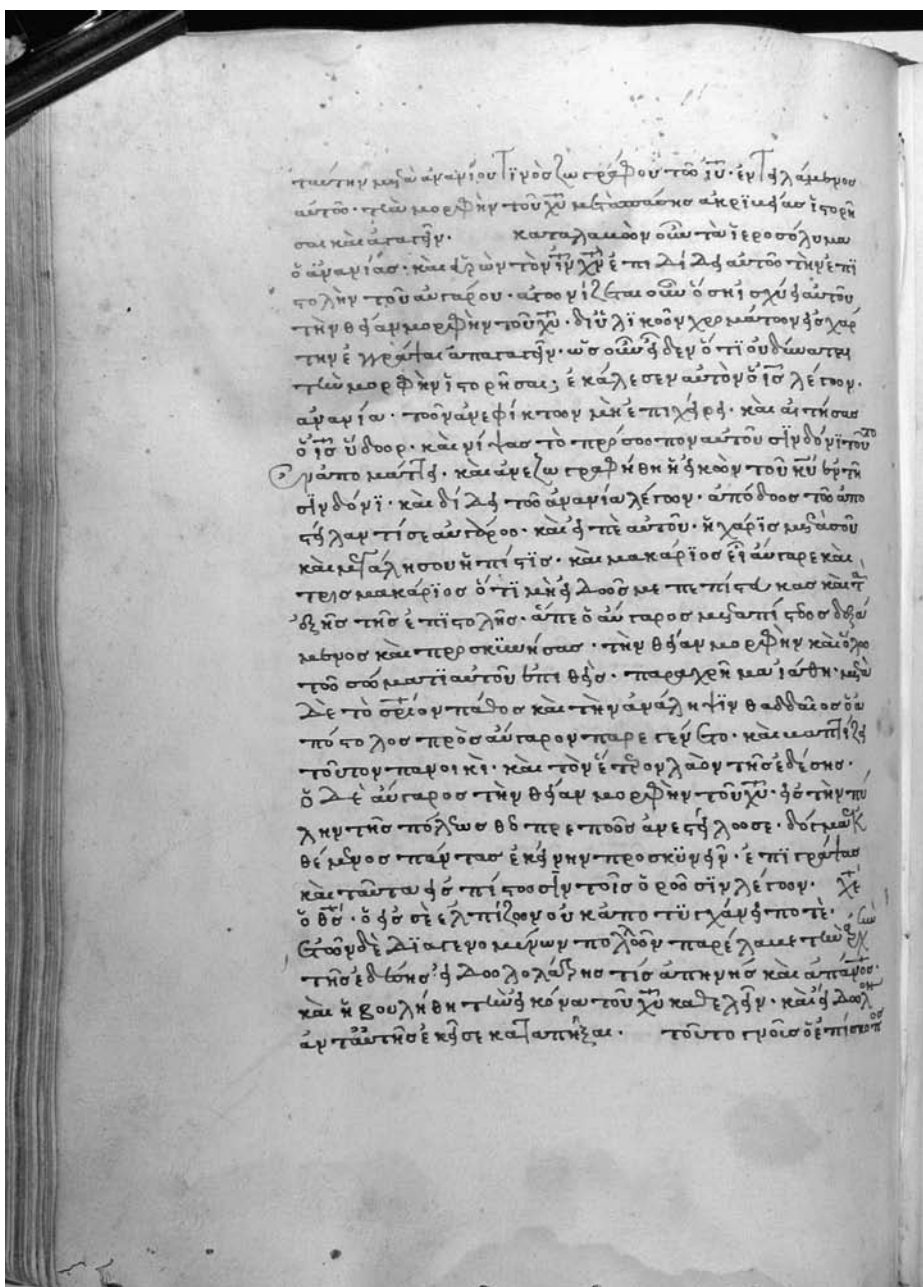
✠ ΠΛΑΚΕΣ ΠΗΚΑΙ ✠



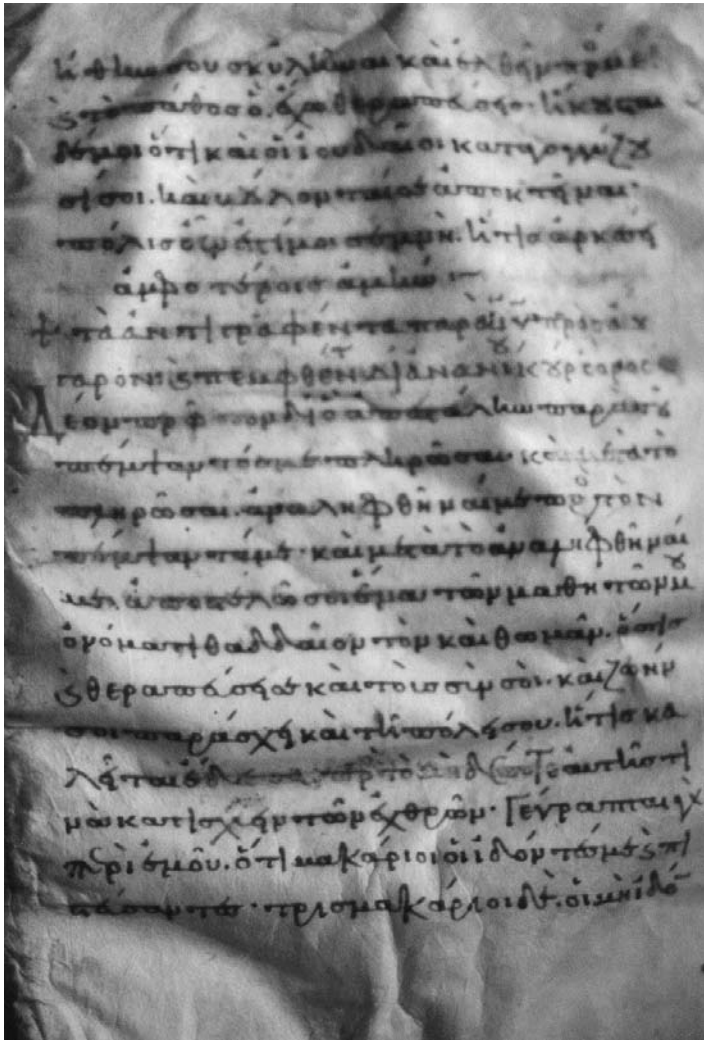
8. The Mandylion and the tile in Cod. Ross. Gr. 251 (Vatican).
With kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



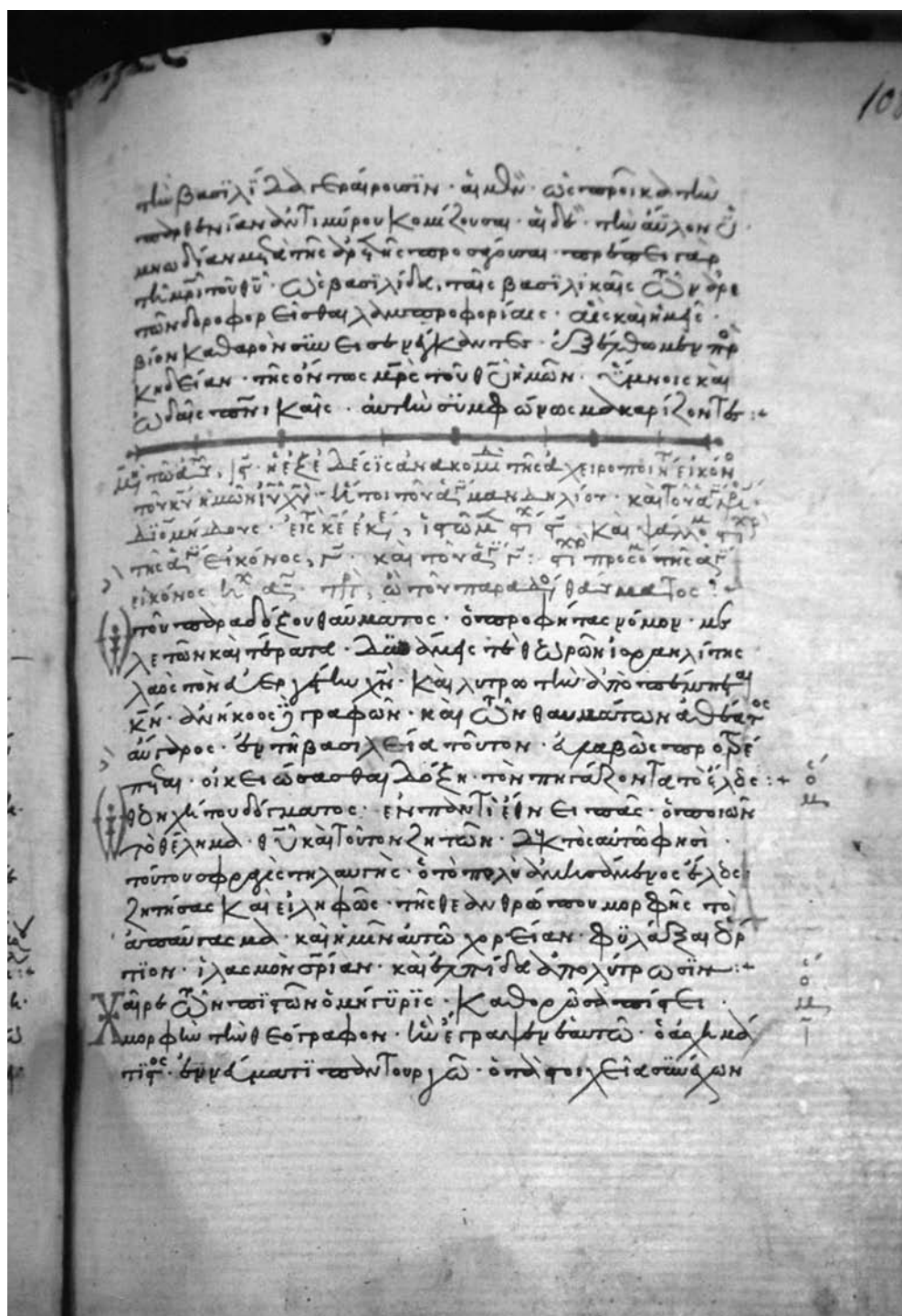
9. The *Narratio de imagine Edessena* – Protaton 36. Photograph by the author.
With kind permission of the monks of the Protaton.



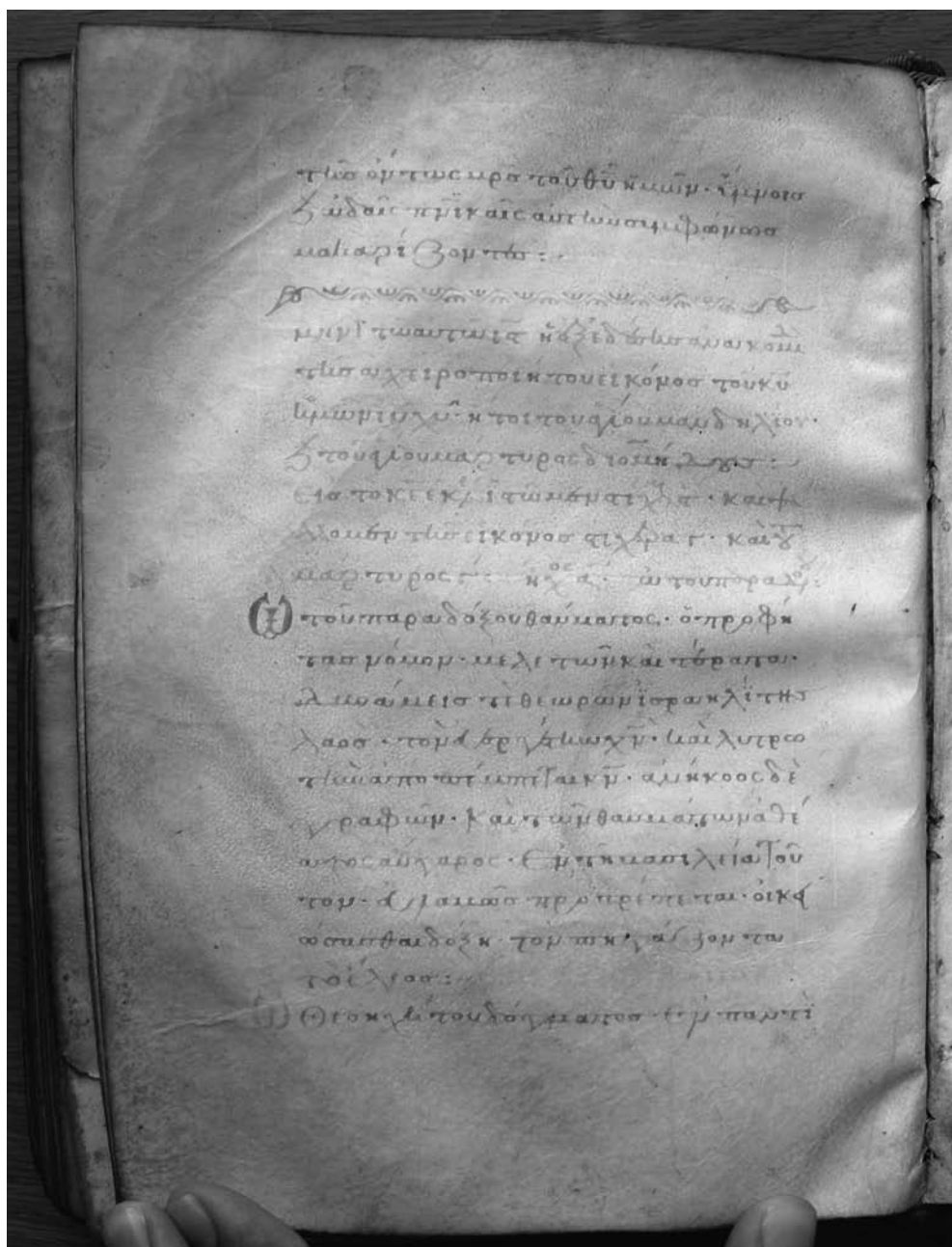
11. The Synaxarion – Iveron 797. Photograph by Monk Theologos, librarian at the monastery of Iveron. With kind permission of the abbot of the monastery of Iveron.



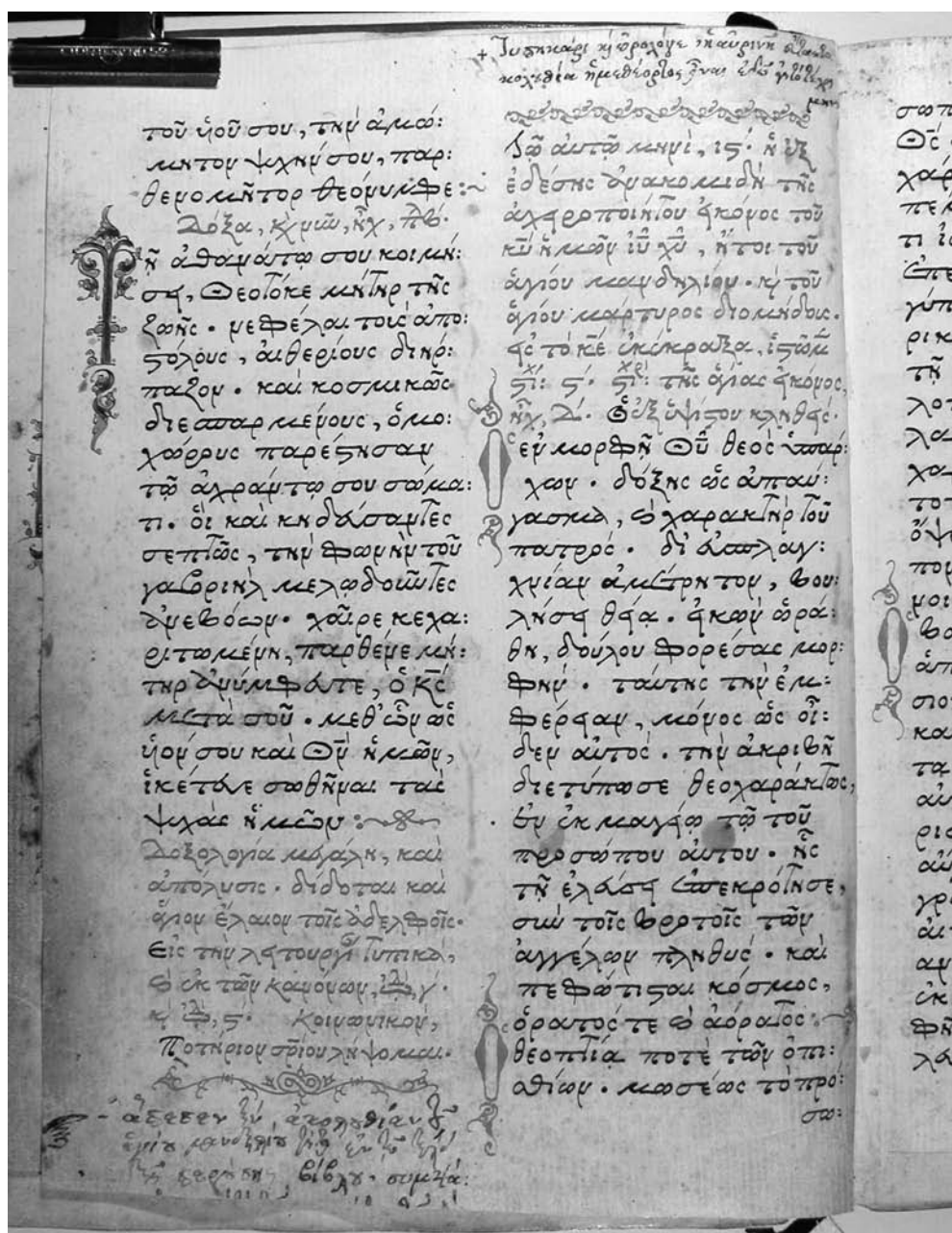
12. The Abgar Letters – Protaton 83. Photograph by the author.
With kind permission of the monks of the Protaton.



13. The Menaion – Koutloumousiou 3404. Photograph by the author.
With kind permission of the abbot of the monastery of Koutloumousiou.



14. The Menaion – Gregoriou 228. Photograph by Monk Kallistos, assistant librarian at the monastery of Gregoriou. With kind permission of the abbot of the monastery of Gregoriou.



15. The Menaion – Iveron 1684. Photograph by Monk Theologos, librarian at the monastery of Iveron. With kind permission of the abbot of the monastery of Iveron.

PART TWO

THE IMAGE OF EDESSA

CHAPTER ONE

THE ABGAR LEGEND

Central to the early history of the Image of Edessa is the legend of Abgar. The difference in terminology is immediately apparent – the Image as such has a history whereas the Abgar episode can only be classed as legend.¹ It is often stated that every legend is founded on a substratum of fact, but my intention in this case is to clearly state that the story of Abgar sending a messenger to Christ and receiving an image of whatever description in return is not based on historical fact. Stated quite simply, it did not happen.

The Decree of Gelasius declared the two letters (the one Abgar sent to Jesus and the reply) apocryphal towards the end of the fifth century;² and both Augustine³ and Jerome⁴ state that Jesus left nothing in writing. More recently, Tixeront's argument that part of the letter is based on a gospel text is proof enough that the letters do not date from Jesus' time: the words in Abgar's letter to Jesus τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις Ἐ καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις (albeit with καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐλαύνεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις interpolated) are a direct echo of Jesus' reply to the envoys from John the Baptist in Matthew 11:5 and Luke 7:22, τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται Ἐ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται.⁵

¹ Although as recently as 1896 it was classified as ein historisches Factum by J. Nirschl in *Der Briefwechsel des Königs Abgar von Edessa mit Jesus in Jerusalem oder die Abgarfrage* (Mainz 1896), 336.

² Epistula Iesu ad Abgarum, apocrypha; epistula Abgari ad Iesum, apocrypha, cf. Ernst Von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem text herausgegeben und untersucht* (Leipzig 1912).

³ Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquae litterae, quae nullo alio narrante ipsius proprie Christe esse dicantur, Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 28:4; cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 42: 436–487.

⁴ In Ezech. 44:29, cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 25:443.

⁵ Joseph Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse et la Légende d'Abgar* (Paris 1888), 138–140.

Given that the letter contains an echo of the gospel, it must be later and therefore apocryphal. If the letter from Abgar to Jesus is apocryphal, then quite logically the reply must be too. The reply also contains an echo of the gospel (John in this case), not as clearly as the above but a direct influence is apparent nevertheless – compare the opening words of Christ's reply to Abgar Μακάριος εἶ, Αὐγαρε, πιστεύσας ἐν ἡμοῖ, καὶ μὴ ἑωρακώς με to John 20:29, Μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. An even more convincing argument, one that even Tixeront overlooked, is the second sentence in Jesus' reply to Abgar. The words Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἡμοῦ, τοὺς ἑωρακότες με μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν ἡμοῖ are as clear a reference as could exist that the gospels have already been written and evidence of a lack of care in the writing of the letter. For the living Jesus to state that it is written about me (sc. in a gospel) is a grave anachronism. The text of the letter as it stands could never date from Jesus' lifetime.

However, the legend lived on as truth into the Middle Ages and even up to the nineteenth century,⁶ showing that popular opinion was quite immune to such arguments. Santos Otero attributes the legend to a desire to link the origins of Christianity in Edessa with apostolic times – more specifically, to celebrate the conversion of Abgar IX, who reigned until A.D. 216.⁷

A definition as legend, however, should under no circumstances be taken as dismissive. While it is true that history has no say on miraculous cures or supernatural happenings, the whole Abgar story (especially Christ's reply to Abgar, which came to be used as a kind of talisman or good luck charm) is the most durable element in the history of the Image, the one that kept it alive long after the Image itself was forgotten.

Eusebius of Caesarea

The earliest surviving written account of the Abgar legend dates from the beginning of the fourth century, in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, although this version of the legend is not the same as the later ones. The historian dates the events to the year 340 of the Seleucid era,

⁶ Cf. W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Edinburgh 1864), 155.

⁷ Aurelio Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (Madrid 1956), 662. The majority of scholars prefer Abgar VIII as the first Christian king of Edessa.

which would be A.D. 30.⁸ Later versions place the Abgar episode just days before the crucifixion, and that seems to be what Eusebius had in mind.

Eusebius does not name the person that Jesus will send to Abgar (at least not when the letter is quoted—he says elsewhere that it was Thaddaeus, one of the seventy-two, who was sent by Thomas), neither does he make any mention of Jesus' promise (at the end of the letter sent in reply to the king) to keep the city of Edessa safe from any enemy attack. The promise was most probably added shortly after the middle of the fourth century, when Edessa became a Roman outpost on the borders of Persian territory. The main difference for the import of this study is that Eusebius knew nothing of any image or portrait.

The historian claims that his account is based on documents kept in the city of Edessa—that he translated the letters directly from the Syriac, a claim that can never be established with any certainty. If it is true, then we must assume that the records he consulted did not contain any reference to the Image either.

Would this mean that the Image did not exist when Eusebius wrote, or that it had been forgotten and/or hidden as the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* claims? The question is quite thorny. The dangers of arguing *ex silentio* are well-known and need no further comment, but on the other hand the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* can hardly be taken as a trustworthy historical source on its own without other supporting sources.

When telling the story of Abgar's conversion, Eusebius does state that when Thaddaeus entered into the king's presence, a great vision (ὄραμα μέγα) was seen on his face. In the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, Thaddaeus places the Image over his own face before entering into the king's presence, and Abgar saw from afar a great light emanating from the apostle's face. If the vision mentioned by Eusebius was in some way related to light proceeding from the Image in the *Narratio*, this could mean that Eusebius used a source that included the story of the Image but then deliberately omitted mention of the Image itself (or that the source he was using had omitted it), but the detail could equally well be explained by the anonymous author of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* finding a meaning for Eusebius' unexplained 'great vision'. If it was Eusebius who omitted the reference to the Image, he clearly did not

⁸ Desreumaux gives A.D. 28–29, cf. *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout 1993), 13.

relate this great vision to the Image, otherwise he would surely have omitted this too (unless he overlooked this detail after omitting the Image).

The Doctrine of Addai

Less than a hundred years later, the Image appears in the Syriac work known as the *Doctrine of Addai*, which in its present form would appear to date from about AD 400.⁹ In Syriac tradition the text is simply known as Labubna, named after the scribe (real or imaginary) who copied the text and signed it at the end. Drijvers¹⁰ states that the text is clearly meant to defend orthodox beliefs at Edessa against all kinds of heretics pretending that orthodoxy goes back to Edessa's first apostle sent by Jesus himself.

According to this version (which according to Runciman, seems to be an emended and enlarged edition of the documents that Eusebius saw at Edessa),¹¹ Abgar sent a messenger to Jesus Hanan (presumably the same person as Ananias) who was an artist. In Eusebius' account, Ananias is a very minor character—he is hardly mentioned at all, and when he is, he is described as a ταχυδρόμος or messenger, whereas in the *Doctrine of Addai* he is a high official in Abgar's court, a scribe and artist.

In the *Doctrine*, Hanan painted a portrait of Christ and took it back to Edessa. The Image therefore is certainly present in this version of the legend, although under a very different format from the later ἀχειροποίητος descriptions. Desreumaux suggests that the episode of the portrait is la réponse à la question des deux princes, réponse que la prédication de l'apôtre traduit toutefois en clair: Le corps est la pourpre pure de sa divinité illustre; c'est grâce à lui que nous pouvons voir sa divinité cachée.¹²

⁹ Mirkovic dates it to c. 500, cf. *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 8. Edition of text in *The Teaching of Addai*, translated by George Howard (London 1876, reprinted by The Society of Biblical Literature, Michigan 1981).

¹⁰ H.J.W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden 1980), 33.

¹¹ Steven Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, (1931), 240. Mirkovic calls it a conglomerate of stories taken from a variety of sources, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 31. Cf. Santos Aurelio, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (Madrid 1956), 663, attributing the differences between Eusebius and the *Doctrine of Addai* to there being two ancient versions, different but parallel.

¹² Alain Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout 1993), 31.

The promise to make the city invincible also appears in Jesus' reply to Abgar – the beginning of the lengthy process that led to the letter's use as a general talisman or good luck charm. The promise was mentioned in a letter from Darius to Augustine in 429:

Adfuit Deus regi, sanatus est, et ampliato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi transmisit; iussit insuper eius urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.

And so God visited the king, and the king was cured. He received more than he had asked for, as not only did God give him health as to a supplicant through the letter, but also safety as to a king; for he also decreed that his city would be safe forever from enemies.

This promise to keep the city safe from enemy attacks (or at least to prevent hostile victories) did not become immediately known in western tradition.

Another significant difference between Eusebius' account and the Doctrine of Addai is that in the latter Jesus' reply to Abgar is an oral message (although the content is virtually the same, excepting the addition of the last sentence promising that the city will never fall into enemy hands), whereas Eusebius has Christ answer in writing.

The Acts of Thaddaeus

Palmer dates this Greek text to between A.D. 609 and 726.¹³ Lipsius, who edited and published the text, states that the additions to Eusebius' version were made towards the end of the fourth century.¹⁴

The Acts tell us that Lebbaïos was a native of Edessa who came to Jerusalem when John the Baptist was preaching – he was baptised and took the name of Thaddaeus. He was then chosen as one of the twelve disciples. The Acts then tell the story of Abgar – the king's letter to Christ is a fairly free adaptation of Eusebius' version, although nothing substantial is modified. Instructions are given to Ananias to bring a description of Christ just as in the Synaxarion, but the instructions are somewhat shorter:

¹³ Andrew Palmer translated (with an introduction) a Greek version of the Abgar legend in an appendix to Alain Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout 1993), 137.

¹⁴ R. Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Darmstadt 1959), cvii.

Παραγγείλας τῷ Ἀνανία ὁ Ἀβγαρος ἱστορεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀκριβῶς, ποίας εἰδέας ἐστίν, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τρίχα καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα.

Abgar told Ananias to record Christ's exact appearance, what he looked like, his stature, his hair and everything in detail.

There is an interesting variant in one of the two manuscripts Lipsius used for his edition of the Acts of Thaddaeus. In Vindobonensis bybl. Caesar. hist. gr. 45 (olim 14), which he dates to the ninth or tenth century, this same paragraph ends with the words πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη (his whole body) i.e. Abgar is telling his artist to bring back a painting of the whole body of Christ.

The cloth that Jesus wipes his face with is called both τετράδιπλον and σινδών, bringing into the story for the first time the idea that the Image was on cloth. Jesus' reply to Abgar is oral, not written, and much shorter than other versions:

Εἰρήνη σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει σου, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον, παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀναστήσαι τοὺς προπάτορας. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι με εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τὸν μαθητὴν μου Θαδδαῖον, ὅστις φωτίσει σε καὶ ὀδηγήσει σε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν σου.

Peace to you and your city, as this is what I came for, to suffer for the world, to rise and to raise our forefathers. When I have been taken up to heaven I will send you a disciple of mine called Thaddaeus, who will enlighten you and lead both you and your city into all truth.

Egeria

Egeria was a nun who went on a pilgrimage to visit the holy places towards the end of the fourth century.¹⁵ Her origins are not clear, but she could very well have come from the north west of Spain.¹⁶ She kept a record of her visits and experiences, which has unfortunately not come down to us complete, although the account of her visit to Edessa has survived.¹⁷

¹⁵ J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford 1970, 2nd edition Piscataway 2001), 66, mistakenly places her pilgrimage in the middle of the fifth century.

¹⁶ J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford 1970, 2nd edition Piscataway 2001), 183, prefers Southern Gaul.

¹⁷ Critical edition by Agustín Arce, *Itinerario de la Virgen Egeria (381–384). Edición Crítica del Texto Latino, Variantes, Traducción Anotada, Documentos Auxiliares, Amplia Introducción, Planos y Notas* (Madrid 1980).

Egeria records the story of Abgar as related to her by the local bishop. The letters to and from Jesus are mentioned but not quoted. The bishop read them to her and gave her copies (the text seems to suggest that he gave her the originals in his keeping; *epistolas ipsas sive Aggari ad Dominum sive Domini ad Aggarum*), although it would be more prudent to assume that she meant copies. Egeria puts on record that she already had copies of the letters in her homeland, but that the ones she saw and heard in Edessa were longer (*nam vere amplius est quod hic accepi*). The letters are not reproduced in Egeria's account of her visit to Edessa and we do not know the text of the copies she had back home, so neither can we know for sure what additions the Edessa letters had. It could very well be that the addition was the promise of invincibility in fact, when the bishop tells Egeria the story of Abgar, he recounts the Persian attack and how Abgar prayed at the city gates; *Domine Iesu, tu promiseras nobis, ne aliquis hostium ingrederetur civitatem istam*, showing that the promise was at least known in the city at the time.

In the surviving account, Egeria does not mention Thaddaeus/Addai in connection with Abgar, but her account of the legend is hardly complete (no mention is made either of Abgar's illness or of Ananias in Jerusalem) and so no conclusions should be drawn from this.

What is significant is that Egeria does not know anything about an image or portrait of Christ. No matter how patchy or summarised the rest of the account is, had the bishop known anything at all about the Image (or had it been openly present in the city), Egeria would have included such a holy object in her writings. Many have concluded that this is proof that the Image of Edessa did not exist at the time when Egeria visited the city, but this is not a logical step. The conclusion from Egeria is that neither the bishop nor anyone else in the city knew about the Image, and there could be various reasons to explain this: the Image's non-existence is just one of these possible explanations. Another is that the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* description of how the Image was hidden (or lost) at this time is based on a true event in its origins, in which case neither Egeria nor the bishop would have been aware of the Image's existence. The problem with this explanation is that it seems much more likely that the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* version of the Image's history before its (re)appearance in the sixth century was made up to take its origins back to the time of Christ. There are no known written records before the tenth century of the Image's being hidden away. That said, the fact that a pre-sixth century history was put together four hundred years later can not be used as an

argument to show that the Image's origins are to be found in the sixth century; it simply means that the origins lie obscured in the mists of time.

Procopius

Procopius wrote in the middle of the sixth century, shortly after the failed Persian attack on Edessa. He does not mention the miraculous role of the Image, and informs his readers that the promise of the city's invincibility was unknown in the first versions of the letter. He adds (with a touch of sarcasm) that since everyone believed in the promise, God had to honour it so as not to make believers look foolish:¹⁸

Τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτέλευτιον, οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψαντες οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν. Οὐ γάρ οὔν οὐδέ πῃ αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν. Ἐδεσσηνοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εὐρέσθαι φασίν, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάγραπτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντ' ἄλλου που φυλακτήριον ἐν ταῖς πόλεως πεποιήνται πύλαις. Καὶ μοί ποτε ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς εἰ ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἐρρήθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἀνθρώποι ἦλθον, ὥς μήποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινα σκῆψιν διδοίη.

Those who wrote the history of the time had no knowledge whatsoever of the final sentence of this letter. They make no mention of it anywhere. The inhabitants of Edessa say that they found it with the letter and doubtless had this one inscribed on the gates of the city in place of the other one. I would doubt that Christ wrote this, but given that people came to believe he had, he let it be so, so as not to give reasons for believing it false.

Drijvers ruthlessly concludes that Procopius did not mention the Image not because he was not interested in miracles, but because such an image simply did not exist,¹⁹ although despite his silence, both von Dobschütz and Runciman suggest that the legend has a historical foundation.²⁰

¹⁸ Bellum Persicum II:26–27, cf. J. Haury and G. Wirth (ed.) *Procopius, Bellum Persicum* (Leipzig 1962–1963), 268 ff.

¹⁹ Various authors, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 18.

²⁰ Cf. Ernst Kitzing, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Indiana 1976), 103.

Evagrius

Writing towards the end of the sixth century, the historian Evagrius Scholasticus tells the story of how the portrait of Christ saved the city of Edessa when the Persians attacked in AD 544. He gives no account of how the Image came to be in Edessa and mentions nothing of its origins, but does take it for granted that his readers would know exactly what he was referring to.

Evagrius' account is to be found in Book IV of his history, chapter 27.²¹ The story seems to be based on Procopius' earlier account, although with a significant addition not found in the source – the intervention of the Image of Edessa as the miraculous solution for setting ablaze the wood underground. This is the earliest mention of the Image's presence in Edessa in a historical work, as opposed to a text specifically devoted to the Image itself.

Procopius does mention the difficulties in lighting the tree, although Evagrius, in his eagerness to relate the role of the Image, eliminates various details. According to Whitby,²² the *acheiropoietos* miracle is then inserted, quite smoothly, at the point where Procopius describes the defenders' problems with igniting the material in their mine. There has been quite a heated debate recently about whether the episode is a later interpolation or did actually form part of Evagrius' original text – this debate is analysed in the next chapter.

The Oxford and Cairo Fragments of the Abgar correspondence

The Oxford Bodleian Gr. Th. b 1 and Cairo 10 736 papyrus fragments contain a unique version of the Abgar correspondence, although the poor state of the papyri means that little can now be read.²³ The two have been identified as proceeding from the same document (confirmed by the same unidentified hand on the verso of both), and dated to the sixth or seventh century.

²¹ Cf. Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000), 225–228.

²² Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000), xxx.

²³ Both are loose leaves.

The transcription and translation of Cairo 10 736 is as follows:

γαρου του βασιλεως
 αυτων ανεστα
 τουτων αναγνωσιν αρ ν επ
 εγον του βασιλεως των παρα XY
 τονεμενω ανεγνω δε επι αυτου
 καιος οσημειοσαμενος
 υσας δε ο βασιλευς Αβγαρος εξειστη
 στηκοσιν αυτω μεταστασιν
 (of Ab)gar the king
 what they had sent
 on reading it
 before the king about the Christ
 read it for him
 written
 When king Abgar heard this he was amazed
 those who were with him

The transcription and translation of the Oxford fragment (the correspondence) is

προς με
 κουσται μοι οτι
 διωκουσιν σε
 τιν σμικροτατη
 ταυτα ο
 ριος ει οτι επιστευσας εν εμοι μη κως με
 ι γαρ περι εμου οτι οι εωρακοτες με ου μη πιστευ
 ν εμοι και οι μη εωρακοτες με αυτοι
 ουσιν και ζησονται περι δε ου εγραψας μοι
 παντα δι α
 σταλην εντα θα πληρωσαι και μετα το πληρωσαι
 αναλημφθηναι προς τον αποστειλαντα με
 κ παιδαν αναλημι οι τινα
 των μαθητ ιασηται
 και ζωνν κα αρασχηται
 πολε
 to me
 I have heard that
 persecute you
 small
 this
 for believing in me without (having se)en me.
 about me that those who see me will not beli(eve
 in me) and those who have not seen me

lieve and live. As for what you wrote to me
 everything I was sent here for
 and after fulfilling this
 be taken up to the Father who sent me.
 When I have been taken one of my
 disciples who will cure
 give life and
 city

The two fragments were analysed by Rolf Peppermüller,²⁴ who reached the following conclusions:

1. The account seems to refer to an earlier version than that of Eusebius or the present Doctrina Addai.
2. The text is not a simple copy of Eusebius.
3. It appears that the Doctrina Addai as it now stands takes the same view as these papyrus texts but is not a word for word translation, as there are certain differences between the two.
4. The Doctrina Addai has additions compared to the papyrus text, but also omissions. The papyrus texts would seem to be a translation of a lost earlier Syriac source than the Doctrina Addai.

If a Greek version independent of Eusebius did indeed exist, then the tradition of the Abgar legend is more complicated than previously assumed, although the strongest influence in later times proceeds from Eusebius' text. Taking these fragments into account, and the differences in the correspondence mentioned by Egeria, it would appear that there never was an original authoritative text of the Abgar legend. From the very beginning it was open to modification and adaptation—the text recorded by Eusebius became “standard” thanks to the historian's own reputation, rather than any innate quality of the text itself.

John Damascene

The Image's origins are also told in the writings of John Damascene. In *De Fide Orthodoxa* he says²⁵

²⁴ Rolf Peppermüller, 'Griechische Papyrusfragmente der Doctrina Addai', *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971), 289–301.

²⁵ Cf. Bonifatius Kotter, O.S.B. (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* Vol. 2 (Berlin 1973), 206–208.

Ὁ κύριος, Αὐγάρου τοῦ τῆς Ἑδεσσηνῶν πόλεως βασιλεύοντος ζωγράφον ἀποστείλαντος τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ὁμοιογραφῆσαι εἰκόνα καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ ζωγράφου διὰ τὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν τοῦ προσώπου λαμπρότητα, αὐτὸς ἱμάτιον τῷ οἰκίῳ προσώπῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ ἐπιθεὶς ἐναπεμάξατο τῷ ἱματίῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ οὕτως ἀπέστειλε τοῦτο ποθοῦντι τῷ Αὐγάρῳ.

Abgar, king of the city of Edessa, sent an artist to paint the Lord's image but could not do so because of the shining brilliance of his face. The Lord therefore placed a large cloth on his divine and life-giving face and wiped his own imprint onto it. He sent this to Abgar in answer to his request.

And again in *De Imaginibus Oratio I*,²⁶

Λόγος ἄνωθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένος κάτεισιν, Αὐγαρον, τὸν Ἑδέσσης ἄνακτα φημι, τῇ τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς θεῖον ἐκπυρσευθέντα ἔρωτα ἀκοῇ ἀπεσταλκέναι πρέσβεις, τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκεψιν ἐξαιτοῦντας. Εἰ δὲ ἀρνηθεὶς τοῦτο δράσαι, τὸ τούτου κελεύει ὁμοίωμα ζωγράφῳ ἐκμάξασθαι· ὃ γνόντα τὸν πάντα εἰδότα, καὶ πάντα δυνάμενον, τὸ ῥάκος εἰληφέναι, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ προσενεγκάμενον, ἐν τούτῳ τὸν εἰκεῖον ἐναπομόρξασθαι χαρακτῆρα, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν σώζεται.

An ancient story has come down to us about Abgar—I mean the ruler of Edessa—who heard all about the Lord, and a godly desire was kindled in him. He sent some messengers to ask the Lord to come and see him. Should the Lord refuse, they had to paint his likeness as an artist would. As the Lord knows and is aware of everything, and can do everything, he took a piece of cloth and held it to his face—his image was imprinted onto the cloth and has survived to our own times.

The story has developed in that although Abgar sends an artist to paint Christ's portrait, this turns out to be impossible and Jesus ends up taking a cloth (the word used in the first version here is ἱμάτιον, normally used of a large outer cloak, while the second version uses the much more frequent word for the cloth the Image was imprinted onto, ῥάκος). The Image then is no longer a human painting but a miraculous imprint on a cloth.

The Letter to the Emperor Theophilus is sometimes included among the works of John Damascene, although it dates from a hundred years after his death. The Image is mentioned in this letter:

²⁶ Cf. Bonifatius Kotter, O.S.B. (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* Vol. 3 (Berlin 1975), 114.

Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τῶν ὅλων σωτὴρ καὶ κυρίως ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι πολιτευόμενος, τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τῆς ἁγίας μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν σουδαρίῳ ἀπομαζάμενος, Αὐγάρῳ τῷ τοπάρχῃ τῆς Ἑδεσσηνῶν μεγαλοπόλεως διὰ Θαδδαίου τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀποστόλου ἐκπέμψας καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἰδρώτα τοῦ προσώπου ἐναπομάττει, τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτοῦ ἀποσώζων ἐν τούτῳ, ὅπερ ἐκμαγεῖον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἢ λαμπροτάτη καὶ μεγαλόνυμος τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν πόλις ὥσπερ σκήπτρον βασιλικὸν κατέχουσα αὐχεῖ καὶ κομπάζει.

While the Lord and Saviour of all was on earth he wiped the imprint of his holy form onto a sudarium and sent it to Abgar, the ruler of the city of Edessa, via the godly apostle Thaddaeus. He wiped the divine sweat from his face and transferred his own likeness onto the cloth—the famous and renowned city of Edessa has held the imprint to this day, taking pride and glory in it as if it were a royal sceptre.

The basic story does not seem to have changed much here, although there is a reference to Jesus wiping the sweat off his face to form the Image. Could this be the same story as the second version contained in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* (i.e. the Image was formed when Jesus wiped his face in Gethsemane while sweating blood), or was the sweat just suggested by the use of the word σουδαρίῳ?

The Nouthesia Gerontos

This text was written before 787, perhaps even before 770 and is one of the few texts that survive from the First Iconoclasm.²⁷ The text relating to the Abgar legend is as follows:

Ὁ γέρον ἔφη· “Ἐφανερώσεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ τελῶν θαυματουργίας, ἀπῆλθεν ἡ βοή αὐτοῦ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐθαύμασαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Βασιλεὺς δὲ τις ὀνόματι Αὐγαρος πόθῳ θεῖῳ ἐπειγόμενος τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν Ἀσσύριον οὐκ ἴσχυεν. Καὶ πέμψας τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτοῦ εἰς πρεσβείαν λέγοντες αὐτῷ· Ἐλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἀκούομεν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά, ἃ ἐργάζει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. Δεῦρο λοιπὸν καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν, ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν ὅτι σὺ εἶ τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐθνῶν. Καὶ φησιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος· Οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς· Ἐὰν ἔλθῃ εὖ καὶ καλῶς· εἰ καὶ μὴ γε, τῆς μορφῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαρallάκτως τὴν εἰκόνα ἀγάγετε μοι, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰσχῳ μου τὸν πόθον. Καὶ πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες, οὐκ ἴσχυον τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξεικονίσαι μορφήν. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν

²⁷ Preserved in *Mosquensis Historici Musei* 265, saec. IX/X. Edited by B.M. Melioranskij, *Georgij Kiprianin I Ioann Ierusalimianin, dva maloizviestnych borts za pravoslavie v VIII niefie*, (St. Petersburg 1901), V–XXXIX.

Χριστός, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος σινδόνι καὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἐπιθείς ἐν τῷ ἀχραντῷ αὐτοῦ προσώπῳ, καὶ ἄνευ ὕλης καὶ χρωμάτων ἐγένετο ἡ ἀχραντος αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν. Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀποσταλείσιν παρὰ Αὐγάρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἠϋλόγησεν αὐτούς τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐδράσας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ θεμέλια, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἐφραίμ διηγείται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀψευδὴς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος”.

The old man said, “When our Lord and God revealed himself and his many wonderful miracles, his fame spread over the whole land and people were amazed. A certain king, called Abgar, was filled with a godly desire to see Jesus but as he was Assyrian, he could not. He sent some messengers with the mission to say to him, “Come to us. We have heard about the great wonders that you work among the Jews. Come and live with us so that we might believe you are the light and glory of the nations”. And the Lord replied to them, “I was only sent to the house of Israel”. The king had told them, “If he comes, fine and good. If he does not, bring me the exact image of his form so that I might fulfil my desire”. No matter how hard they tried they were not able to produce an image of his form. Seeing their faith, Christ our Saviour took hold of a linen cloth and with his own hands placed it on his undefiled face, and without paint or any other matter his undefiled image was imprinted onto the cloth. He gave it to the messengers King Abgar had sent, blessing them, the king and the city, strengthening the foundations of the city, as our God-bearing father Ephraim tells us in his writings—and the word is true.”

The legend is slightly different to later versions in that both Abgar’s message to Jesus and the reply are oral, and the content of the message is both shorter and different (as would befit a supposedly oral “admonition”). Emphasis is placed on the fact that the resulting image was a miraculous intervention and involved no paint or artistic skills. The image was imprinted onto a σινδών or linen cloth.

The Narratio de imagine Edessena

This is the longest version of the whole legend, and is attributed within the text itself to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.²⁸ Von Doberschütz rejects the emperor’s authorship, postulating instead that the text was written by a courtier, but under Constantine’s close supervision

²⁸ As recently as 2001—cf. B. Flusin, ‘Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle et leur passé impérial’, in the exhibition catalogue *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris 2001) 27, “C’est lui (sc. Constantine Porphyrogenitus) que écrit le récit de la translation du *Mandylion*”.

the attribution would then depend on how literally we understand the meaning of the word 'author'. Patlagean sees no reason to doubt the emperor's actual authorship of the text,²⁹ although to all effects and purposes, the actual authorship of the text is not significant – what is important is the content.

Discussing the text of the *Narratio*, Paul Hetherington states,³⁰ we can be confident that we are reading the words of someone who was present when the image arrived in the Great City on the evening of 15 August 944, and who could have talked with members of the party that had escorted it.

This text was one of the documents taken over by Symeon Metaphrastes and used in his *Menologion* with no changes. Before discussing Metaphrastes' use of the document, it would not be out of place to establish working differences among the three terms used: *Menologion*, *Synaxarion* and *Menaion*.

Following Noret's definitions,³¹ the *Menologion* would be the larger development of a saint's life or the events celebrated on any given day, such as for example the story of the Image of Edessa on 16 August. The best-known *Menologion* is the one established by Symeon Metaphrastes, although it was by no means the only one. The *Synaxarion* is similar to the *Menologion* but shorter – a summarised version. This difference is evident in the two versions of the history of the Image of Edessa; namely, the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, as used in its entirety in the Metaphrastes *Menologion*, and in a shorter version contained in the *Synaxarion*. It is clear that the *Synaxarion* is based on the fuller *Menologion* version (at least in the case of the Image of Edessa) from chapter eighteen, in which the *Synaxarion* tells the story of how the inhabitants of Edessa discovered that the Persians were digging a tunnel. We are told that the bishop went to the place where the Persians were digging, given away by the noise of the bronze utensils, which by itself makes little sense, as no details have been given in the *Synaxarion* about what the bronze utensils were or how they could give the Persians

²⁹ Yveline Patlagean, 'L'Entrée de la Sainte Face d'Édesse à Constantinople', *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne* (1995), 28: 'En somme, rien n'oblige à mettre en doute l'attribution du récit à Constantin VII.'

³⁰ Paul Hetherington, 'The image of Edessa: some notes on its later fortunes', *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization, in honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge 2006), 194.

³¹ Jacques Noret, 'Essai de clarification d'une terminologie', *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (Brussels 1968), 21–24.

away. It is only in the longer *Narratio de imagine Edessena* (and Menologion) version that the story makes sense, as it reveals that a bronzesmith lived above the place where the Persians were digging and the rattling of his utensils gave them away. The details were incorporated into the shorter Synaxarion version but without the necessary explanation.

There are also summaries of the Synaxarion version of the legend (i.e. a summary of a summary), as can be seen in text from Iveron 797. This text is reduced to the bare minimum of the Abgar legend, not even quoting the entire correspondence but including the rather laconic summary of Abgar's letter to Christ: blessed are you, Abgar, and thrice blessed, because you have believed without seeing me, and the rest of what is in the letter, presupposing knowledge of the complete text.

The Menaion is quite different from either the Menologion or the Synaxarion, as it is a liturgical calendar. Hymns are organised according to the day rather than by their subject matter, so the liturgical verses given in this book about the Image of Edessa are not found necessarily in the same order as in the Menaia, and they are interspersed with other verses in honour of Diomedes (whose feast day is also celebrated on 16 August) and more general hymns. Some manuscripts contain a Menaion with an excerpt from the prose Synaxarion account interpolated between the verses. Some of the Athos manuscripts for 16 August display this particular characteristic.

Metaphrastes composed the Menologion some time in the second half of the tenth century. He rewrote many earlier accounts of saints' lives and related events, in general including more detail. Christian Høgel³² identifies three main differences in the way Symeon reworked the older texts; in earlier versions each month had a very similar number of texts, but in the reworking the balance was lost and some months were over twice as long in general as others; the earlier versions often had various texts for one day and very few blank dates, whereas Symeon's version left many days with no texts; and the new version has fewer texts related to Mary. As an example of the above differences, the months of September and August could be compared. The year in both the Menologion and the Synaxarion begins on 1 September, thus making the volume corresponding to August the last one. In the Metaphrastic menologion September has twenty-five texts, whereas in August there are only four.

³² Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes, Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen 2002).

Given that the first months consistently have more texts (September has 25, October 27, November 27, December 23 and January 20) than the later ones (8 in February, 2 in March, 3 in April, 1 in May, 3 in June and 4 each in July and August), the most evident reason would appear to be quite simply that Symeon's work was incomplete when he died.

It is therefore significant that he left the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* of the Image of Edessa untouched, simply copying it into his account for the sixteenth of August. There was at the time either no more detail available than that contained in the court-produced version, or if there was, we must assume that Symeon simply did not see the need for changing the version he had received.

Hügel suggests that the lengthy (excessively so?) Metaphrastic Menologion was shortened into a more workable version on Mount Athos, shortly after Megistes Lavras was founded in the middle of the tenth century.³³ This would presumably mean an Athonite origin for the Synaxarion, of which numerous manuscripts can be found in the various libraries on Athos.

Christianity in Edessa

If the stories in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* and the Synaxarion are taken at face value, then Christianity was established in Edessa very soon after the crucifixion of Christ. However, the correspondence between Jesus and Abgar is not genuine, which in turn means that it cannot be used to argue for such an early link between the city and the new religion.

Yet J.B. Segal states 'every legend is based on a substratum of fact, however distorted or tenuous'.³⁴ Even though there was a king of Edessa called Abgar at the time when Christ lived, general opinion seems to equate the official coming of Christianity to the city during the reign of a different Abgar – Abgar VIII the Great, who held power from AD 177 to 212. Abgar VIII appears on some coins wearing a tiara with a cross, possibly a reference to his Christianity. There was definitely a Christian church in Edessa during the reign of Abgar

³³ Christian Hügel, *Symeon Metaphrastes, Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen 2002), 153–154.

³⁴ Various authors, *A Felicitation Volume for J.D. Pearson* (Mansell 1980), 180.

the Great, and the philosopher and poet Bardaisan, a contemporary of Abgar, was most probably a Christian of sorts, or at least had some strain of Christian belief mixed up in his own philosophies and ideas.³⁵ There were even heretics in Edessa at the end of the second century – Valentinians and Marcionites – which means that they must have been established there some time before. Tixeront estimates that Christianity was first preached in Edessa in the decade from AD 160 to 170.³⁶

Segal postulates a theory according to which there was a Jewish mission to the area in the first century, which had positive results. The use of mezuzah (a kind of phylactery attached to doors) led to the idea of the Jesus/Abgar correspondence being affixed to the city gates. This seems a little farfetched. It seems more likely that once the letters and Image were generally known, a story was made up to take their origin back to the time of Christ (although this *in itself* is no argument against a pre-sixth century origin for the Image).

Mirkovic concludes, Although we have strong indications that Christianity was present in Edessa after the middle of the second century, beyond that one can say very little about Christian origins in Edessa.³⁷

In a footnote to his translation of Eusebius' history of the Abgar legend, G.A. Williamson reaches a somewhat different conclusion:

The authenticity of this circumstantial story presents an interesting problem. It is generally regarded as mere legend, designed to create the belief that Christianity reached Mesopotamia very early indeed. But if, as scholars tell us, there is no other evidence that missionaries arrived there till a century later, there is equally no evidence that they did not. It would, indeed, be surprising if Christianity, which spread over almost the whole Empire with such remarkable rapidity, should have been withheld from an area so near Palestine, and one where a similar dialect was spoken. Let us not forget that while Edessa is only 180 miles from Antioch, the starting-point of all Paul's journeys, Ephesus is 500, Rome over 1,000 and Spain 2,000.³⁸

³⁵ Cf. Joseph Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse* (Paris 1888), 11: 'quoiqu'il en soit, Bardesane était certainement chrétien vers la fin du II^e siècle.'

³⁶ Joseph Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse* (Paris 1888), 15.

³⁷ Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 28.

³⁸ G.A. Williamson, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine, Translated with an Introduction* (New York 1965), 70.

Supporting this point of view, Arthur Voobus declares,

If, by the beginning of the second century, Christianity had already won converts among the inhabitants of the mountain village in Hadiab, then there can be no doubt that the Christian faith had been established before the end of the first century in Edessa and also in Osrhoene, which were on the highway connecting Arbel and Syria.³⁹

However, we must ask to what extent the arrival of Christianity in Edessa can be equated with the arrival of the Image (assuming it did not originate in the city). The two do not necessarily have to be related, as the religion could have arrived at any time before the cloth, either among the people (as elsewhere in the Roman Empire), or on an official level. The arrival of Christianity was not dependent on the Image, although it is difficult to imagine the Image being taken there (or originating there) if there were no Christians in Edessa. This brings us to a rather indefinite conclusion – all we can state is that it is highly unlikely that the Image was in Edessa before Christianity had reached the city, but it could have been taken there any time between the establishment of the religion and the sixth century. In other words, the question of when the new religion took hold in Edessa is only of limited help in establishing the origins of the Image.

Later versions of the Abgar legend

The legend of the correspondence between Jesus and Abgar was current all over Europe until the nineteenth century. There are numerous different versions of the story itself and the actual letters, differences that were apparent from the earliest times. As has already been stated, as far back as the fourth century the pilgrim nun Egeria observed that the copies of the letters she was presented with in Edessa were not the same as the ones she had seen in her native country.

Von Dobschitz gives a Latin Armenian version of the whole Abgar story,⁴⁰ in which, while the letters offer nothing new, there are some details added to the known Greek versions of the legend. At the beginning of the story we are told that Abgar was the son of Casme, and

³⁹ Arthur Voobus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Levant* (Louvain 1958), 7.

⁴⁰ Ernst von Dobschitz, *Christusbilder Beilage IV* (Leipzig 1899), 143 ff. The text is from Par. Bibl Nat. 2688, probably dating to the thirteenth century.

that the encounter between his messenger Ananias and Jesus took place on the sixth day before the passion (i.e. the Sunday of Jesus triumphal entry into Jerusalem). The clean white cloth that would become the Image of Edessa (described as a *pannum mundissimum niveo candore nitentem*) was handed to Jesus in Gamaliel's house and sent to Ananias by followers of Thomas, together with the letter from Jesus to Abgar.

The journey back to Edessa took them twelve days, although on the sixth day at the twelfth hour (i.e. the time when Jesus died on the cross) they heard loud noises that made them afraid. Such details are typical accretions and additions to the legend over the centuries.

As I have already stated, the legend grew all over Europe and the Middle East, leaving extant versions of the story, the correspondence or both in various different languages. Yassa Abd al-Masih gives examples of the correspondence in Arabic and Bohairic.⁴¹ In manuscript 266 of the collection from Wadi'n-Natrun, the following note is included with the letters:

Hail, Abgar, who was worthy to behold the image of Adonai made without ink on cloth (mandil), the image of the worker of miracles. It was not effaced or burnt when it was tested by fire and water before the great multitude.

A fragment of the Abgar letter survives in Gothenburg Papyrus 21,⁴² with some unique readings. This version is quite different from the one recorded by Eusebius, although reasonably similar to the *Epistola Abgari* in Lipsius. Apart from the full name and title of Jesus (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸς Μαρίας), the version includes the assurance that Jesus himself wrote the letter (ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς χειρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἔγραψα) and more importantly, a hint of the magic charm aspect the letter would take on later, in the sentence ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ἀποθέσθαι διόλου διαμαρτύαν, καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν προβληθῇ μου τὰ γράμματα Ἐ, the first part of which is unique to the version in this fragment. In fact, the article by Youtie suggests that the papyrus could well have been a Christian amulet.

Moses of Khorene is a disputed case. The writer himself claims to be a follower of Mesrob, which would place him in the fifth century,

⁴¹ Yassa Abd al-Masih, An unedited Bohairic Letter of Abgar, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Caire* 45 (1947), 65–80.

⁴² Herbert Youtie, A Gothenburg Papyrus and the Letter to Abgar, *The Harvard Theological Review* 23 (October 1930), 299–302.

and thus constitute very early evidence for the existence of the Image. Internal considerations, however, suggest a date in the eighth century, although the fifth-century date was accepted by Cureton in the nineteenth century⁴³ and more recently by Ilaria Ramelli⁴⁴ and Alexander Mirkovic.⁴⁵

Moses offers an interesting (but doubtless unhistorical) origin for Abgar's name – it was originally Avak-a•r, which means a great man, but neither the Greeks nor the Syrians could pronounce it and so they called him Abgar. Both letters in Moses' account are written rather than spoken and there is no record of the promise of invincibility, although the Image is mentioned. No details are given, it is simply stated that Hanan took Jesus' letter back to Abgar along with the image of Christ, which is still in the city of Edessa (when Moses wrote). If the account is fifth century, then it is the earliest reference to the Image of Edessa, although even so it would not clear up any of the important questions.

Regardless of when the account was written, Moses successfully makes the legend thoroughly Armenian – Abgar is a king of Armenia, Thaddaeus travels round Armenia after converting Abgar etc. This is an interesting example of how the legend was adapted to prove a point – in this particular case, a political point, namely that Armenia was the first kingdom to officially adopt Christianity.

The legend is present in various Greek chronicles, but with scant importance for establishing the actual history of the Image. Such examples would be Georgius Monachus, Georgius Hamartolos, Leo the Deacon and the anonymous continuation of the Chronicle of Theophanes (tenth century).⁴⁶ Towards the end of the eleventh century, Georgius Cedrenus (in the *Compendium Historiarum*) tells the story of Abgar at some length, based on (in fact copying word for word at times) the account recorded in the Synaxarion (his version has been collated with the Synaxarion texts in the critical edition). Nicetas Choniates

⁴³ W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Edinburgh 1864), 194. The book is in English although the translation of Moses of Khorene is in French, copied from a previous edition published in France.

⁴⁴ Ilaria Ramelli, 'Dal mandilion di Edessa alla Sindone: Alcune note sulle testimonianze antiche', *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* (1999), 173.

⁴⁵ Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 120.

⁴⁶ For critical editions of these texts cf. Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon*, edited by C. de Boor (Leipzig 1904), vol. 1, 321, vol. 2, 740; Leo Diaconus *Historiae Libri X*, edited by C.B. Hase (Bonn 1828), 160; Theophanes *Chronographia*, edited by C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883), 461–462.

mentions the episode briefly (*Historia Byzantina* II:12), while in the fourteenth century Nicephorus Callistus paraphrases the Abgar legend and correspondence (*Historia Ecclesiastica* II:7) and then the attack on Edessa as told by Procopius and Eusebius of Pamphilus (*Historia Ecclesiastica* XVII:16), contributing nothing new or of any significance to the history.

In the eleventh century the Abgar correspondence was twice translated into the Georgian language at the Athonite monastery of Iveron (whose library holds the largest collection of Georgian manuscripts outside Georgia itself). The translations were each added to the four gospels, in effect canonising them as scripture on the same level as Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Both manuscripts (known as the Alaverdi gospels and the Gelati gospels) are illustrated with different scenes from the story.

The Image is mentioned in some other later Syriac texts, brought to light by Han Drijvers.⁴⁷ The twelfth-century Chronicle of Michael the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch tells the story of one Athanasius bar Gumoy, who paid a tribute to the Arabs for the city as the treasury had no money. He took the Image of Edessa into his house as a guarantee until the money was all paid back. While he was in possession of the Image, he had a copy made and gave this back, keeping the original for himself. Drijvers states that if the painted copy fooled the authorities, the original must have looked very much like a painting.

There are some minor differences recorded in the Abgar legend in Irish manuscripts.⁴⁸ In Codex Leabhar Brecc 146.3.28f. 146–147 (c. AD 1200), for example, we read that there were two people named Thaddaeus, one an apostle and the other a disciple (it was the disciple who went to Edessa). Abgar's illness was a swollen leg; there is no mention of leprosy.

Perhaps one of the most interesting of the later versions is to be found in the Didaskalia on the Mandylion and the Holy Tile of Constantine Stilbes, written just a few years before the Fourth Crusade. Nothing is known in this text about the agony in Gethsemane; the image was produced when Abgar's messenger was in Jesus' presence in Jerusalem, although there were two different missions – the first to take the letter to Jesus and a second one to obtain a portrait.

⁴⁷ Various authors, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 21 ff.

⁴⁸ Patrick Considine, 'Irish Versions of the Abgar Legend', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 237–257.

The letters from Abgar to Jesus and from Jesus to Abgar are quoted as texts in the first and second persons, although the texts themselves do not resemble the better-known versions at all:⁴⁹

Ἀσθενής εἰμι, φησί, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ἐν φυλακῇ τῷ στενοῦντι καὶ συμπιέζοντι τοῦ σώματος περιφράγματι καὶ ἐρύματι καὶ πρὸς με τοὺς πόδας εὐθύνον τοὺς ὠραίους, εἰρήνην τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μαχομένων τοῦ σώματος χυμῶν καὶ ἀγαθὰ εὐαγγελιζόμενος, ὅλας σοι τὰς πύλας τῆς Ἑδέσσης ἀναπετάννυμι. Λεπρὸς ἐγώ, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθε τοῦ λεπροῦ παράλυτος, καὶ τὸ τῆς κατακλίσεώς μοι ζήτησον δάπεδον. Εἶπον γε βούλει καὶ τῶν ἐπιβούλων Ἰουδαίων ἀποδραμεῖν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεάνθρωπος, ἢ Ἑδέσσά σοι καταλύτηριον ἐρυμνόν, ὡς καὶ σοῦ τὸ μεγαλοδύναμον ταύτης ἔσται τοῖς θεμελίοις, πεπίστευκα, λίθος ἀτίνακτος καὶ συνδέτης ἀκρόγωνος τῇ τῶν τειχέων περιβολῇ.

I am ill, he says, so come to visit me groaning and imprisoned in the walls and the enclosure of my body, direct your graceful steps towards me, announcing peace and good for the illness that afflicts my body. I will open wide all the gates of Edessa for you. I am a leper, come into a leper's house. I am a paralytic, come and seek where I lie down on the ground. And as you are both divine and human, if you wish as a man to escape the plotting Jews, Edessa will be a safe place for you to live in. I believe that your omnipotence will be an unshakeable rock for the city's foundations, and the cornerstone that binds the circle of its walls together.

Ἐπιστέλλει γοῦν ὡς (ἐν) Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τερματωθῆναι χρεών· Οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τοὺς φονευτάς, φησί. Τὸ γάρ μοι πάθος ἐκούσιον καὶ ἔκδηλον, εἰ μὴδὲ τὸ παρὰ σοὶ ζητοῖν κρησφύγετον τὸ ἀνεπιχείρητόν τε καὶ ἄσυλον.

He wrote that he had to bring the economy of salvation to completion in Jerusalem. I will not shun my murderers, he says. My passion is my own will and is manifest, and so I will not seek an unassailable place of refuge with you.

These versions of the Abgar correspondence are without doubt curious variations, but despite their apparent presentation as direct quotations it is hardly likely that Constantine Stilbes considered them to be the original letters.

⁴⁹ The text is conserved in one known manuscript (Baroccianus gr. 25, saec. XIII/XIV) and was edited with a French translation by Bernard Flusin, *Didascalie de Constantin Stilb•s sur le Mandylion et la Sainte Tuile*, *Revue d'Études Byzantines* 55 (1997), 53–79.

The later additions to Jesus' reply to Abgar included all kinds of recommendations about when and where to read the text in order to be kept safe from all kinds of evil. Examples can be seen in the versions preserved on Mount Athos (e.g. the versions in the Protaton, Vatopedi and Docheiariou). R. Beylot provides a French translation of a similar version preserved in two late (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) Ethiopian manuscripts.⁵⁰ In other words, the letter was turned into a good luck charm. This kind of letter was reasonably popular and gave rise to the so-called letters from heaven, so forcefully criticised by Licinianus (bishop of Cartagena in Spain) in the sixth century. His invective was not entirely successful as such letters continued to appear (almost always related to the observance of the Sabbath), and were published for popular use in Greece as late as the nineteenth century. The practice of displaying a copy of Jesus' reply to Abgar as a charm to ward off evil could still be seen in the English countryside as late as the nineteenth century.⁵¹

The Abgar legend continued to undergo modifications and additions as late as 1844, when a mystic under the name of Jacob Lorber completed the other letters exchanged by Jesus and the King of Edessa through a vision. The second exchange involved Abgar's son who had become very ill. In reply to the king's request for his healing, Jesus answered that he would do something even better than cure him – he would let him die so as to inherit eternal life. Further letters inform us how Abgar's son indeed died just as Jesus had foretold. Then Abgar found out that the Jews intended to crucify Jesus and offered to inform his friend Tiberius Caesar so that help could be sent before it was too late. Needless to say, Jesus refused the offer. Such gibberish is of course absolutely worthless regardless of how one might consider it, but it does serve to show how the name and legend of Abgar was still alive enough in the nineteenth century to be understood and recognised.

⁵⁰ Alain Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout 1993), 147–152.

⁵¹ Cf. W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Edinburgh 1864), 155.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE IMAGE

No definite or convincing theory as to the Image's origins has been postulated to date. Previous books and articles that have attempted to provide an answer regarding the Image's origins have come up with different sources, dates and reasons; none of which have offered more convincing arguments than any other. All that can really be done is to look at the sources and analyse what authors both ancient and modern have to say about it.¹

The *Narratio de imagine Edessena* dates the origins of the Image of Edessa to the time of Christ himself, shortly before his passion, as do the vast majority of sources. It should be pointed out that the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* itself gives two possible versions for the origins of the Image, one the regular Abgar story (i.e. the king sends a messenger to paint a picture but Jesus miraculously imprints his facial features onto a cloth and sends it back to Abgar) while the other one differs significantly. The second version stages the imprint story in the garden of Gethsemane, when Christ was sweating blood² – he was handed a cloth to wipe his face on and the image of his face was miraculously transferred onto the cloth.

There was without doubt a king reigning over Edessa when Christ was alive, and he was called Abgar. He was most probably in power from AD 13 to 50. He is mentioned by Tacitus in a rather unfavourable light,³

Igitur excitis quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Parthi rexque Arabum Acbarus advenerat, monet Meherdaten barbarorum impetus

¹ Cf. Ilaria Ramelli, 'Dal mandilion di Edessa a la sindone', *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* (1999), 185: 'Molto più problematico appare invece stabilire quando, in che circostanze e da dove la sacra Immagine sia pervenuta a Edessa, poiché le fonti si fanno qui più scarse e più leggendarie'.

² The textual evidence for the sweating of blood in the original gospel attributed to Luke is meagre, although the verse and the tradition are obviously old.

³ *Annales* XII: 12.

acris cunctatione languescere aut in per diam mutari: ita urgeret coepta. Quod spretum fraude Acbari, qui iuvenem ignarum et summam fortunam in luxu ratum multos per dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam.

He then called for those at whose suggestion a king had been requested from Rome, encamped at Zeugma where the river was most easily fordable, and awaited the arrival of the leading men of Parthia and of Abgar, king of the Arabs, and reminded Meherdates that the impulsive enthusiasm of barbarians soon fades due to in the face of delay, or even turns into treachery. He should therefore move his plans on quickly. The advice was ignored through the per dy of Abgar, as he delayed the foolish young prince for several days in the city of Edessa. The prince thought that the highest position just meant self-indulgence.

The existence of an Abgar ruling at Edessa and contemporary of Jesus does very little to establish a first-century origin for the cloth. Other factors must be taken into account.

The earliest mentions of the Image

The earliest textual mention of the Image is in the Doctrine of Addai, around AD 400 (Eusebius makes no mention of the Image, although he is aware of the supposed correspondence between Jesus and Abgar). According to the Doctrine of Addai, Abgar sent Maryahb, Smeshgram and Hanan⁴ the faithful archivist (Ananias in the Greek versions) to Eleutheropolis with some letters. When the governor answered the letters, the three envoys went to Jerusalem and saw what Jesus was doing, and how the authorities were plotting to do away with him. Given that Hanan was an archivist, he recorded everything they saw and heard. When they returned to Edessa, they told Abgar all about Jesus (Hanan read his account to the king), thus fomenting a desire in Abgar to go and see Jesus for himself. The reason given in the Doctrine of Addai for not doing so is that the king could not pass through a district ruled by Romans that was not his.

Abgar's letter to Christ is more or less the standard version that was used later, requesting healing for a certain illness he had and inviting Jesus to come to Edessa. No mention is made of requesting a portrait in case Jesus cannot or will not go. Christ's answer to Abgar was an oral

⁴ According to Moses of Khorene, the envoys were called Mar-Ihap, Chamchacram and Hanan, similar enough to denote a common source.

message, not a written letter, although the content is much the same as the written versions. Jesus promised to send a disciple after he had been taken up into heaven (the disciple is not named, as he is in some later versions), and also to make the city of Edessa invincible in the face of any enemy attacks.

The Doctrine of Addai then mentions the portrait, but in quite different terms from all later versions:

When Hanan the archivist saw that Jesus had spoken thus to him, he took and painted the portrait of Jesus with choice pigments, since he was the king's artist, and brought it with him to his lord King Abgar. When King Abgar saw the portrait he received it with great joy and placed it with great honour in one of the buildings of his palaces. Hanan the archivist told him everything that he heard from Jesus since his words had been placed by him in written documents.⁵

An obvious question that springs to mind related to the two texts is whether the Doctrine of Addai could possibly have been the document that Eusebius saw (if indeed he saw it in person) in the archives of Edessa. Tixeront is convinced that it was; *la Doctrine d'Addai est le texte vu par Eusebe, mais légèrement retouché et interpolé*.⁶

A possible argument against this is that the Doctrine of Addai contains Jesus' promise to make Edessa invincible, whereas the later version according to Tixeront has this sentence removed, only to see it restored to the text in all later versions. His argument is that Eusebius believed in the whole Abgar story and in the authenticity of the correspondence, but not in the promise of invincibility, hence it was removed.

It is the Image itself that proves that Tixeront must have been wrong. He admits the difficulty of the fact that a portrait (albeit a human made painting) is mentioned in the Doctrine of Addai but not in Eusebius' another detail that could have been omitted, along with the promise to safeguard the city. Tixeront's argument shows how difficult it is to maintain that the Doctrine was Eusebius' source. He states that as Egeria was shown the letters of Christ and Abgar but not the Image, then obviously the Image was not in Edessa at the time and so could not have formed part of Eusebius' text. Consequently it must be a later addition to the Doctrine.

⁵ Translation by George Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (Atlanta 1981), 9–11.

⁶ Joseph Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse* (Paris 1888), 94.

This is an argument with no base in fact. It is much more logical that the two additions to the text in Eusebius (the promise and the Image) are the first examples of the lengthy process of how the tale grew in the telling.

Who was Thaddaeus?

Thaddaeus is listed as one of the twelve disciples in two of the four canonical gospels (Mark 3:18 and Matthew 10:3), although several (mainly western) manuscripts of both gospels have the name Lebbaïos instead. Some have a conated reading, i.e. Thaddaeus also called Lebbaïos. Luke and John replace Thaddaeus with a second Judas (not Iscariot). All three names are Semitic, and according to Raymond E. Brown they can hardly all refer to the same person despite the later creation of the composite name Judas Thaddaeus.⁷

Thaddaeus must logically be equated with Addai, but was he one of the twelve apostles, or in accordance with other versions one of the seventy-two? J.B. Segal would keep the two separate.⁸ He states that Addai could very well have been a historical personage, who brought Christianity to nearby Adiabene and possibly even to Edessa at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second. Addai was unknown to the Greek Church and simply identified with Thaddaeus.

Given the legendary nature of the whole episode, it is not worth trying to resolve this doubt, and even if it were possible it would shed no new light on the origins of the Image.

Thaddaeus is not mentioned in Egeria's version of the story. Thomas is named, but not directly as the apostle who was sent to Edessa. An inscription discovered near Edessa and published in 1914⁹ identifies Thaddaeus and Thomas as one and the same person, as do the independently preserved versions of the Abgar correspondence in three Athos manuscripts (Protaton 83, Vatopedi 928 and Docheiariou 235).

⁷ Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* Vol. 1 (New York 1997), 198.

⁸ J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford 1970), 65.

⁹ *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1914), 825.

A Syriac hymn

The Image is mentioned, albeit in a strangely obscure way, in a Syriac hymn which dates to the first half of the sixth century.¹⁰ The original cathedral had been destroyed by the floods of 525, and the hymn celebrates the opening of the new building eight years later. There is some doubt and debate about the exact meaning of the verses that mention an image not made by human hands. Drijvers translates the relevant verses as follows,

Like an image not made by hands is the marble
with which its walls are suitably overlaid.
And from its brightness, polished and white,
light gathers in it like the sun

and concludes that strophe nine of the Syriac hymn does not refer to the Holy Face, the *acheiropoietos* icon.¹¹ Whitby is in agreement with this,¹² stating that its reference to a picture not made by human hands refers to natural patterns in the marble on the church walls.

The problem lies in the fact that in the original Syriac, the lack of the definite article before 'image not made by hands' means that the marble could be like 'an image not made by hands' or like 'the image not made by hands'. Either translation is possible, and the context does nothing to suggest which of the two would be more appropriate. It could be argued that patterns in marble look nothing like an image of the face of Christ, and so the simile would make no sense, but the comparison is not necessarily one of the physical aspect of the two objects – it could just as well be a comparison of their non-human origin. If the second translation is understood (with the definite article), then the reference must be to the Image of Edessa, and even without the article, any reference to an image not made by human hands in the

¹⁰ For the original text see *Codex Vaticanus Syriacus* 95, ff. 49–50. Cf. André Grabar, 'Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VI^e siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien', *Cahiers archéologiques* 2 (1947), 41ff.; Andrew Palmer, 'The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a new edition and translation with historical and architectural notes and a comparison with contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 117–168.

¹¹ Various authors, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 20.

¹² Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000), 325.

city of Edessa would immediately have brought to mind the image of Christ, and the author of the poem must have been aware of this. As in so many other cases, despite the various arguments for both points of view, the only possible conclusion is that there is no definite conclusion.

More recent theories

According to Steven Runciman,¹³ Eusebius' silence about the Image does not prove that it was not mentioned in the lost archives of Edessa. Disapproving very strongly of icons, Eusebius could very well have suppressed the story. Averil Cameron disagrees with this possibility, stating it seems likelier that the motif of the picture entered the complex of the Abgar legend only later.¹⁴

The pilgrim nun Egeria also makes no mention of the Image towards the end of the fourth century, although she went to Edessa and was given a copy of the letters. Runciman concludes that although the tradition of the Image could have existed at this early stage, the Image itself did not, i.e. the Image was later made or fabricated to fulfil the tradition.

The Image of Edessa must have been in existence in the middle of the sixth century, when the Persians under Khusro attacked the city of Edessa and were driven away empty-handed. Khusro laid siege to Edessa in 544, and according to Procopius¹⁵ the Edessans set fire to the siege tower by digging a tunnel underneath it, filling it with inflammable material and setting it all ablaze. Khusro retired and gave up the siege.

It should be pointed out that according to the modern Synaxarion in use in the Greek Orthodox church today, the attack on the city of Edessa that failed thanks to the miraculous intervention of the Mandylion was not in fact the Persian attack of 544 but the Persian

¹³ Steven Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931), 241.

¹⁴ Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), 81. According to Ilaria Ramelli, 'Dal mandilion di Edessa a la sindone', *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* (1999), 185, the fact that Eusebius' failure to mention the Image shows it was not in Edessa is nothing more than a *debolissimo argumentum e silentio*. His silence is most probably due to his aversion towards images in general.

¹⁵ Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, 1:12.

2 attack under Khusro II (the grandson of the king who laid siege to the city in 544) in 615. The text is as follows:¹⁶

Ἐκτοτε παρήλθε τοσοῦτος χρόνος ὥστε δὲν ἐνθυμεῖτό τις πλέον ποῦ ἦτο κεκρυμμένη ἡ ἅγια εἰκών. Ὅταν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν Χοσρόης, ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου βασιλέως Ρωμαίων, ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ (615) ἐπολέμει τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀσίας, ἔφθασε μέχρις Ἐδέσσης.

So much time passed that nobody was concerned any more about where the holy image was hidden. When Khusro, the king of the Persians, made war on the cities of Asia in the year of our Lord 615, when Heraclius was emperor of the Romans, he came to Edessa too.

Given that the rest of the story is basically the same as the one related in earlier authors for the attack in 544, this must be taken as an error that crept into the text at some point, probably due to the coincidence of the same name of the Persian king.

Runciman conjectures that an old icon was actually discovered during the siege, whose origin we cannot hope to trace, and the Orthodox clergy, knowing the Abgar tradition, claimed it was the original miraculous imprint of Christ. This in itself is remarkably similar to the version contained in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, although it leaves the possible dating back to the first century in the air.

However, the story of Khusro's attack on Edessa in Evagrius has a different slant. During the siege, the Image of Edessa was discovered (just as in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*) and the conflagration was only brought about by the miraculous intervention of the cloth.¹⁷ Recently there has been a heated debate about whether or not the story about the Image is an original part of Evagrius' text or if it is a later addition.

J. Chrysostomides is of the opinion that the whole episode of the intervention of the Image in Evagrius is a later interpolation.¹⁸ Chrysostomides claims that Evagrius follows Procopius closely in telling of the

¹⁶ Constantine Doukakes, *Ο ΜΕΤΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ, ΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΣ* (Athens 1996), 159.

¹⁷ One sentence in the Synaxarion version of the Persian attack seems to have caused problems at least for copyists on Mount Athos. The sentence itself is easily understandable as the end result of the attack and an ironic description of the Persians' achievements: Ταῦτα παθόντες μᾶλλον ἢ δρᾶσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι. However, S. Megistes Lavras 1959 and Iveron 431 omit μᾶλλον, resulting in a senseless phrase, and ML⁵ reverses μᾶλλον ἢ to ἢ μᾶλλον, which makes matters even worse.

¹⁸ See J.A. Munitiz et al., *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts* (Camberley 1997), xxvi ff.

miraculous re that defeated the invading Persians (although Procopius mentions no image), diverging only to tell how the Image Christ had sent to Abgar was brought to kindle the re:

‘Ὡς δ’ οὖν ἐς πᾶσαν ἀμυχανίαν ἦλθον, φέρουσι τὴν θεότευκτον εἰκόνα, ἣν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο, Ἀγβάρω δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πέπομφε. Ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν παναγίαν εἰκόνα κατὰ τὴν εἰργασμένην σφίσι ἐσαγαγόντες διώρυγα, ὕδατί τε ἐπικλύσαντες, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς πυρᾶς καὶ τῶν ξύλων ἀφείσαν. Καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμειος τῇ πίστει τῶν δεδρακότων ἐπιφοιτησάσης, ὅπερ ἦν ἐκείνοις πρῶην ἀδύνατον, ἐξηνύετο, παρὰ τὴν γὰρ ἐσεδέξαντο τὴν φλόγα τὰ ξύλα, καὶ λόγου θάττον ἀπανθρακωθέντα τοῖς ὑπερτέροις μετεδίδοσαν, ἅπαντα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀμφινεμομένου.

So, when they reached a situation of complete despair, they brought the divinely made image, which human hands had not created. Christ in his divinity had sent it to Abgar, who wished to see him. They took the holy image into the ditch that had been dug and sprinkled it with water, and then sprinkled the pyre and wood too. Divine power immediately came down to through the faith of those who so acted and brought about what was impossible before the wood immediately caught re and became ash quicker than you could say it. Everything caught re and they attributed it to heaven.¹⁹

According to Chrysostomides, this is where the story should have come to an end, but apparently then Evagrius returns to Procopius version and the difficulties of lighting the re. This would thus indicate that the reference to the Image was not part of the original text, but dates to the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. After suggesting the interpolation theory, Chrysostomides summarises with no room for doubt: It is clear, then, that the story of the *acheiropoietos* was added to the text of Evagrius *Ecclesiastical History* later, and that the story was not current in the sixth century at all.²⁰

Convinced therefore that the Image of Edessa was an invention of the eighth century (necessary for the argument under development about the three Eastern Patriarchates), Chrysostomides goes on to claim that the two references in John Damascene are also deliberate interpolations or scribal annotations in the margin, that somehow came to be incorporated into the text.

¹⁹ Evagrius Scholasticus, *Bellum Persicum* IV:28.

²⁰ J.A. Munitiz et al, *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts* (Camberley 1997), xxviii.

Michael Whitby devotes a whole appendix in his translation of Evagrius to refuting Chrysostomides' arguments.²¹ His own statements can be summarised as follows:

1. Evagrius' account is not as close to Procopius as Chrysostomides would have us believe. He had a different story to tell (the miraculous destruction of the Persian mound) and so his focus was quite different from that of Procopius.
2. The alleged contradiction in setting the wood on fire and then returning to the unburnt wood can be solved by assuming two different stages in the fire: an initial blaze deep inside the mound followed by a slower smouldering process.
3. Chrysostomides claims that Evagrius' failure to quote his source for the story of the Image is contrary to his own habit, hence the story must be a later interpolation. However, Evagrius does not always cite his sources (he does not do so for the next miracle in his history, in Sergiopolis), and even then, his use of the phrase *λέξω δὲ τὰ γινόμενα* to introduce the story of the icon after recording what Procopius had written would seem to indicate that he did indeed have his own source for the episode.
4. Procopius' silence about the Image is not significant as it was possibly not a well-known story until some time after the events related (or maybe the Image did not even exist before this time).
5. The Image is not mentioned in Evagrius' chapter headings, but neither are many other events related in his history, such as Apamea and Sergiopolis.

In summary, Whitby concludes that Chrysostomides' attack was based on a narrow-minded point of view, because if the story about the Image is taken out the whole narrative structure is undermined. As far as the origin of the Image is concerned, Whitby offers no solutions, although he does say it is not impossible that every holy object in the city was exploited to assist the process (sc. of lighting the fire), suggesting at least that the Image did exist at the time of the siege.

It would seem that Evagrius was aware of the Image of Edessa and its presence in the city in the sixth century (not every reference to miraculous icons can be classified as an interpolation from the

²¹ Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000), 323–326.

iconoclast struggle). But as before, this does nothing to link the Image to the first century, as the later versions of the story all do.

Averil Cameron claims that the Image of Edessa cannot be traced back either as a miraculous image or as an imprint on cloth, as distinct from a painted picture, beyond the sixth century.²² She explains that the appearance of the Image in the legend lent extra proof to the antiquity of the Church in Edessa and was a move towards the codification of religious discourse – and such a move needed a picture. But we have to ask why such a move would necessarily need a picture. Cameron seems rather to be looking for a reason to explain a pre-established late origin of the Image. It is equally possible that a picture existed and needed to be accommodated. Cameron's explanations remain unconvincing.

The actual dates she gives for the Image's appearance are during the five or six years after the Persian attack on Edessa in 544, as Procopius wrote before 550 and does not mention the Image.

Mirkovic states the case quite succinctly: In conclusion we must say that the portrait of Jesus began to play a role in the reception process of the Abgar legend only after the middle of the sixth century. It seems very unlikely that Eusebius purposefully excluded the reference to the portrait.²³

Tixeront links the origins of the legend to the establishment of Christianity in Edessa, or at least to the first known preaching of the religion in the city. For the legend as it stands (i.e. the conversion of the king and the official status of Christianity) this would seem to be a logical conclusion, although it is not necessarily applicable to either the correspondence (even accepting that it does not date from the time of Christ) or to the Image. The arrival of Christianity in Edessa is not directly linked to the origins of the Image (no source attributes the Image's source to the city), but on the other hand it is possibly related to the arrival of the Image. The religion could very well have taken hold in Edessa before the Image was taken there, but it is very unlikely that the Image was there before Christianity was established. Unfortunately, if the Image's origins do not lie in Edessa, there is no clue at all as to when it was taken to the city.

²² Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), 80–81.

²³ Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 36.

The present state of affairs is summarised as follows by Mirkovic, Unless there is a dramatic discovery in the area of Syriac studies, we will probably never know more about the origins of the Abgar legend.²⁴ Exactly the same comment could be applied to the portrait that came to be known as the Image of Edessa.

Han Drijvers concludes there probably was no ancient image of Christ at Edessa.²⁵ Later on in the same article he agrees that the Evagrius passage must be a later interpolation simply because it is an isolated phenomenon. He then states that an image of Christ, probably a painted icon, may have existed in Edessa sometime in the seventh century or even earlier – seemingly contradicting his own statement that there was probably no ancient image of Christ at Edessa.

Averil Cameron elsewhere states the most likely assumption remains that such an image came into being, or that the existing picture acquired the status of an *acheiropoietos*, some time in the late sixth century.²⁶

Jenkins dismisses the Mandylinion in the following terms: And the Holy Towel was handed over. It was conveyed with speed and reverence to Constantinople, and was added to a host of relics, equally authentic and authoritative.²⁷

So what conclusions can we draw from all the above (if any) about the origins of the Image of Edessa? The *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, the Synaxarion, the Menaion, the Sermon of Gregory Referendarius and the Doctrine of Addai all attribute the origin of the image on the cloth to when Christ was alive – such an affirmation cannot be taken at face value, although it should be pointed out that it is not an essential element for an *ἀχειροποίητος* image. Robert de Clari, for example, mentions the image of Christ not made by human hands in Constantinople, centuries after his life and death.

The fact that the Image is not mentioned in the written histories of Eusebius and Egeria is a very difficult hurdle to overcome, should one wish to argue in favour of a first-century origin (especially when added to the fact that both Eusebius and Egeria do mention the Abgar/Christ correspondence), although it should not be taken as definitive in itself.

²⁴ Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 114.

²⁵ Various authors, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 17.

²⁶ Various authors, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 39.

²⁷ Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium, the Imperial Centuries* (New York 1966), 247.

No convincing explanation has been given of the Image's supposedly later origins, despite all the attempts by authors who have written about the Image over the last few decades (none of the theories proposed has any solid basis in fact and they all differ one from the other).

The safest conclusion is to say that the origins of the Image of Edessa cannot be established with any certainty.

CHAPTER THREE

EDESSA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

Two interesting stories about the Image of Edessa are told by Theophylact Simocatta, who wrote in the early seventh century about what had happened during the twenty-year reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602). Not much is known about the historian's life, although the name Simocatta probably means 'snub-nosed cat' and could be taken as a reference to his physical appearance.¹

In Book ii.3.4–6, Theophylact recounts the Battle of Solachon, which took place in 586. Just when the Persian army came into view, the Roman commander Philippicus displayed the image of God incarnate, which was not made by human hands or painted. He stripped it of its sacred coverings and paraded it through the ranks, thereby inspiring the army with a greater and irresistible courage.²

Shortly before Easter in 588, as told by Theophylact in book iii.1.10–12 of his history, Priscus was appointed commander in the east, replacing Philippicus. He did not respect any of the usual traditions that the army were used to, and as a result a mass of soldiers gathered round his tent, willing to express their discontent with swords and stones.

Priscus enquired as to the cause of the commotion, and in answer was told, 'the unity of the whole array has been overthrown, the camp is leaderless'.³ The general had no idea what to do, and tried to calm the soldiers down by having the image of God incarnate, the ἀχειροποιήτος Image of Edessa carried among them. The plan did not produce the desired effect however, and the soldiers even threw stones at the Image.

The image that Philippicus paraded before his soldiers is not specifically referred to as the Image of Edessa (Whitby suggests it could either be the Edessa icon or the Camoulia one), although it is named as

¹ Cf. Michael Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford 1986), xiii.

² Michael Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford 1986), 46. For the critical edition of the text cf. C. de Boor, *Theophylacti Simocatta Historiae* (Leipzig 1887).

³ Michael Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford 1986), 73.

ἀχειροποίητος when Priscus tried the same method under different circumstances, and furthermore, the setting of the story is near Edessa, making it highly unlikely that the image in question was not the Image of Edessa. The language used to describe the image in each case is virtually identical, and it is stretching the imagination to think that Theophylact was in fact referring to two different objects.

After the Muslim conquest of Edessa, the Image of Edessa was unique in that it was the only signi cant icon that had not been taken to Constantinople, and in fact was now in a small provincial city that was outside the Byzantine Empire. Its fame grew beyond all expectations when the Iconoclastic crisis broke out with the decree of Leo the Isaurian during the period of 726 to 730. It was John of Damascus (John Damascene) who took up the challenge to defend the cause of icons, and used one of the best examples, the Image of Edessa, to do so. If this image had been made by Jesus himself, then how could there be any objections to icons?

Apart from by John himself, the Image was used in later arguments in favour of icons. Nicephorus the Patriarch⁴ tells the story, and Theodore Studites used the legend to show that Christ wished his own features to be recorded:

Ἵνα δὲ ἡμῖν ἀριδιήλως καὶ ὁ θεῖος πιστεύοιτο χαρακτήρ, αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦτον ὑποδὺς σωτὴρ ἡμῶν τὴν τοῦ οἰκείου προσώπου μορφὴν ἐτύπωσέ τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισεν ἐν χρῶ τοῦ ῥάκους ἀψάμενος καὶ τῷ Αὐγάρῳ αἰτήσαντι, ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος πιστὸς καὶ κατ' Ἑδεσσαν πρῶτος, ἐκπέπομφεν.

In order to make our faith in the divine form clearer, our Saviour put it on and by touching the surface of a cloth imprinted an image of his form onto it. He then sent it to Abgar, who had asked for it Abgar was a believer, the first among the citizens of Edessa.

Before 787, in the documents about the Second Nicene Council, a certain Leo Anagnostes saw the image in the city of Edessa:⁵

Λέων ὁ Ἐ ἀναγνώστης τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἶπε· Κἀγὼ ὁ ἀνάξιος ὑμῶν δοῦλος ἡνίκα κατέβην εἰς Συρίαν μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀποκρισarıων ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἑδέσσει καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα τεθεάμαι ὑπὸ πιστῶν τιμωμένην τε καὶ προσκυνομένην.

⁴ *Antirrhetica*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 100: 461.

⁵ Cf. Mansi 13, 192 C, text quoted in Ilaria Ramelli, *Dal Mandilion di Edessa a la sindone*, *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* (1999), 177–178.

Leo the Anagnostes of the great church of royal Constantinople says,
 When I, your unworthy servant, went to Syria with the royal commis-
 sion, I came to Edessa and saw the holy image that was not made by
 human hands, held in honour and venerated by the faithful .

Towards the middle of the tenth century, the aging emperor Romanus Lecapenus decided that it was time for the Image of Edessa to be taken to the capital, the queen of cities, Constantinople. Lecapenus was a usurper, who was deposed by his own sons in collaboration with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who was his son-in-law. Constantine then ousted his fellow-conspirators.

Despite being known as the ἀχειροποίητος (it was not the only image not made by human hands), the Image became known by another name, the Mandylion, during the iconoclastic crisis. There are various theories about the origins of the word, although the most probable solution is that it derives from the Latin *mantilium*, a general word for a (large) cloth.⁶ The name caught on and all copies of the Image today are known as the Μανδήλιον, sometimes written Μανδίλιον or Μανδύλιον, the uncertain spelling betraying its non-Greek origin.

Edessa was besieged in 943 by troops under John Curcuas, although he informed the city authorities that he would spare the city and return two hundred prisoners if he could take the Image back to the capital. The Muslim ruler of Edessa was aware of the tradition that his city would remain invincible as long as the Image stayed within its walls, although he obviously did not place as much faith in the tradition as his Christian counterparts did. Believing that two hundred Muslim lives were more important than any Christian icon or relic, he decided to accept Curcuas' conditions.

The bishop of Samosata was entrusted with the task of obtaining the Image, and after various attempts to fob him off with fakes and copies and after disturbances organised by the Christian population of the city, the Image of Edessa eventually made its way to Constantinople, queen of cities. There were, no doubt, copies made of the Image even in these days (just as copies are painted today to sell to tourists); in fact, each of the three Christian groups, the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Melkites, had their own copy. Each probably claimed theirs was the original and the others were copies, although the Byzantines

⁶ Ilaria Ramelli, *Dal mandilion di Edessa a la sindone*, *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* (1999), 179, attributes the origin of the word to the Latin *mantilium* but with some influence from the Arabic *mandil*.

would doubtless have taken that of the Melkites as the true Image. Little importance seems to have been given to the letters of Abgar and Christ and it is not even clear if what was considered the original copy was taken at the same time as the Image or at a later date.

The Image reached Constantinople on 15 August, although as this date is now when the Dormition of the Virgin Mary is celebrated, the feast day for the Holy Mandylion is now held a day later, on 16 August. It was carried through the city and eventually placed in the chapel of the Pharos in the Boucoleon. It was possibly first installed at the Chalke Gate, the official entrance to the imperial palace at the Augusteion, opposite Hagia Sophia, and later taken to the chapel in the Boucoleon.⁷

When the young emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, accompanied by the two sons of Romanus Lecapenus, who had usurped the throne, viewed the Image, the outline appeared blurred to the latter two but quite clear to Constantine. Was this just a way of expressing the orthodox faith of Porphyrogenitus and the wickedness of the other two, or was it a description of the actual Image? The story is told as follows in Symeon Metaphrastes:

Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τούτων πάντων καθιστορούντων τὸν ἄχραντον χαρακτήρα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐκμαγείῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔλεγον οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως μὴ βλέπειν τι ἢ πρόσωπον μόνον, ὃ δὲ γαμβρὸς Κωνσταντίνος ἔλεγεν βλέπειν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα. Πρὸς οὓς καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος Σέργιος· καλῶς ἀμφοτέροισι εἶδετε. Οἱ δὲ ἀντέφησαν· Καὶ τί σημαίνει ἐκάστου τούτου ἡ διαφορά; Ἀπέκριθη· Οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ Δαβὶδ ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Ὁφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιούντας κακὰ τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν.

A few days before this, when everybody was looking at the marvellous image of the Son of God on the holy cloth, the emperor's sons declared that they could only see the face, while Constantine his son-in-law said he could see the eyes and ears. The godly Sergios said to them that they could all see as they should. They answered, What then is the meaning of this difference? He replied, It is not me but the prophet David who says, The eyes of the Lord are on the righteous and his ears listen to their prayer, but the Lord's face is against evil-doers to destroy their memory from the land.

The meaning in the story seems clear – the difference in what they see is more due to their innate spiritual qualities than to any physical properties of the actual Image. Whether or not the story as such is based

⁷ See Sysse Gudrun Engberg, *Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa, Byzance et les Reliques du Christ* (Paris 2004), 123–139.

on any tradition about the actual appearance of the Image remains impossible to determine, but the political implications were clear, well-expressed by Runciman: The reception of the Image of Edessa was the grand climax of Romanus' reign, but the hymns chanted in its honour were the swan-song of the Lecapeni.⁸

Once in Constantinople, the Image took its place amidst uncountable relics of the life and passion of Christ, and those related to his mother and disciples. In Edessa, it had taken pride of place as the only significant Christian relic, whereas in the capital, while not exactly fading into insignificance, it was undeniably one among many.

It is mentioned in an inventory by Nicolas Mesarites right at the beginning of the thirteenth century:⁹

ἔχεις, ὦ λαέ, τὴν δεκάλογον, παραστήσω δέ σοι κἀνταῦθα καὶ τὸν νομοδότην αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν πρωτοτύπῳ τετυπωμένον τῷ χειρομάτρῳ καὶ τῇ εὐθρύπτῳ ἐγκεκολλημένον κεράμῳ ὡς ἐν ἀχειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τινὶ γραφικῇ.

You have, people, the decalogue, and now I present you with the law-giver himself, imprinted onto a prototype on a cloth and pressed upon a fragile tile, but as if in an artistic style not made by human hands.

The pilgrim Antonius of Novgorod visited the church of the Pharos in Constantinople in 1200, the same year Nicolas Mesarites included the two relics in his inventory. In the list of relics that he saw there, he includes a *lintheum faciem Christi repraesentans* (a linen cloth showing the face of Christ), presumably the Image of Edessa.

An anonymous Latin text dated to the end of the eleventh century,¹⁰ written by a pilgrim who spent a relatively long time in the capital, mentions the Image, although as the cloth was kept in great secrecy the author was not able to see it. The text is as follows:

Est in eadem civitate gloriosa figura domini nostri Ihesu Christi vultus ab eodem in linteolo, ut aiunt Greci, hoc modo compositus. Supradictus Abgarus rex adesse civitate nimio estuabat desiderio videndi preclaram faciem Domini. Cognito Ihesu desiderio regis accepit lintheum et involuit faciem suam ex eo et remansit forma et figura vultus eius in lintheo. Sic

⁸ Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus & his Reign, A Study of tenth-century Byzantium* (Cambridge 1929), 229.

⁹ Cf. A. Heisenberg (ed.): *Nikolaos Mesarites, Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* (W rzburg 1907).

¹⁰ See Krijnie N. Ciggaar, 'Une Description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 53 (1995), 117–140. Cf. Bernard Flusin, 'Didascalie de Constantin Stilb's sur le Mandylion et la Sainte Tuile', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (1997), 63–64.

ergo guratam faciem in linteo suam Salvator transmisit regi Abgar, ut ibi conspiceret qualis eius vultus esset. Hoc linteum preciosissimum domini Ihesu vultu et attactu insignitum maiori pre ceteris reliquiis in palatio veneracione observatur, maiori diligentia tenetur ita ut semper sit clausum aureo vase et ob rmatum diligentissime. Et cum cetera omnes reliquiae palacii cunctis quibus temporibus ostendantur delibus, istud linteum in quo continetur nostri redemptoris vultus guratus nulli demonstratur, nulli aperitur, nec ipsi Constantinopolitano imperatori. Quodam enim tempore apertum habebatur illud vas ubi tam sancta res erat et assiduo terremotu civitas omnis cepit concuti mortemque propinquam omnibus minari. Intimatum est superna visione hoc tantum malum illi civitati non defuturum donec illud linteamen quod in se guram Domini continebat vultus clausum occultaretur et ab humanis obtutibus absentaretur. Factumque est. Clauso in vase aureo et diligenter reserato sancto illo linteo, et terremotus cessavit et omnis malicia celi quievit. Ex illo temore nullus fuit ausus illud vas aperire nec quid esset intus aspicere, credentibus omnibusatque timentibus terremotu omnia concuti si ceperit illud aperiri.

There is in the same glorious city the face of our Lord Jesus Christ on a linen cloth, made by Jesus himself in the following way, as the Greeks say. The above-mentioned King Abgar was in the city burning with a great desire to see the beautiful face of our Lord. Jesus knew of the king's desire and so took a linen cloth and wrapped his face in it the form and gure of his face was imprinted onto the cloth. The Saviour thus sent his face to King Abgar on the linen cloth, so that he might see what he looked like. This wonderful linen cloth with the face of the Lord Jesus, marked by direct contact, is kept with greater veneration than the other relics in the palace, and held in such great esteem that it is always kept in a golden case and very carefully locked up. And when all the other palace relics are shown to the faithful at certain times, this linen cloth on which the face of our redeemer is depicted is not shown to anyone and is not opened up for anyone except the emperor of Constantinople. The case that stored the holy object used to be kept open once, but the whole city was struck by continuous earthquakes, and everyone was threatened with death. A heavenly vision revealed that the city would not be freed of such ill until such time as the linen cloth with the Lord's face on it should be locked up and hidden away, far from human eyes. And so it was done. The sacred linen cloth was locked away in a golden case and carefully sealed up, and then the earthquake stopped and the heaven-sent ills ceased. From that time on nobody has dared to open the case or to see what might be inside it, as everyone believes and fears that if anyone tries to open it the whole city will be struck by another earthquake.

Such secrecy around the Image and the fact that hardly anybody could see it coincides exactly with what is said in the Greek text called

the Liturgical Tractate by von Dobschütz. This anonymous text does indeed state that the image was held in greater awe than other relics in the palace, although apart from these few mentions, the Image of Edessa hardly figures again in known literature (the Synaxarion texts were no doubt composed while the Image was at Constantinople, but make no reference to anything that is not already contained in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Steven Runciman wrote 'There was never a greater crime against humanity than the Fourth Crusade'.¹ The claim might well be an exaggeration but there is no doubt that it ranks very high on the list.

The Fourth Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Innocent III in 1198, in an attempt to restore the old Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The proclamation was especially successful in France, thanks to the efforts of a priest called Fulk of Neuilly. An agreement was reached with the Venetians to transport and feed an army of 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires and 20,000 footsoldiers and to provide 50 warships.² With no more than 11,000 men (but no reduction in the price by the Venetians), the fleet set sail in October 1202 and first recaptured Zara on the Dalmatian coast (despite the objections to attacking a Christian city – yet attacking Zara was very little compared to the later sack of Constantinople). Innocent III was against the taking of Zara and had written to the crusading army urging them to avoid all attacks on Christian cities. He excommunicated the whole army when they did not listen to his warnings, although the French and Germans managed to have the excommunication lifted, and returned to the fold of the church. The army spent the winter of 1202–1203 in Zara.

An unexpected turn of events came with the proposal to restore the rightful emperor of Byzantium to his throne – Alexius IV Angelus had been blinded and imprisoned by his own brother Alexius III. He escaped from prison and offered the crusading army just about everything in return for his throne – the union of the Orthodox with the Roman Catholic Church, enormous sums of money for both the army and for Venice, and 10,000 soldiers once he was ruling again. There was further opposition to attacking a Christian city with a Christian

¹ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades 3—The Kingdom of Acre* (Cambridge 1954), 130.

² Cf. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford 1988, translated from German original Stuttgart 1965), 198.

2 army, although Mayer states that one of the ways the objections of the common soldier were overcome was the descriptions of the unbelievable quantity of relics which were to be found in Constantinople.

The reason for changing the objective of the Fourth Crusade from Egypt (and then the Holy Land) to Constantinople will probably never be definitively known. It could have been what Mayer describes as 'chance', i.e. one event leading to another, or it could have been a premeditated plan from the beginning. Either way, the first attacks in summer 1203 caused Alexius III to flee, thus restoring Alexius IV to his throne, together with his father Isaac II Angelus, although they were not popular and were both killed in January 1204.

The city finally fell to the crusaders in April 1204, and for three days there was little more than plunder and killing to describe. Oaths had been sworn to the effect that the soldiers could only take items of lesser value as plunder, churches and priests would be respected and women would not be raped; the oaths were thrown to the wind in the face of so much temptation. As Mayer states, 'for the relic hunter it was the chance of a lifetime'.³ Relics had been taken back from previous crusades, but they mainly consisted of stones and soil from the holy places in and around Jerusalem: Gethsemane, Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb of Lazarus and Bethlehem. A piece of the true cross was taken to Genoa along with the plate on which John the Baptist's head had been placed, while Venice acquired the body of Saint Nicholas and a rock from which Christ preached.⁴

The defenders of Constantinople carried some amazing relics into battle; an icon of Mary and the apostles, with a tooth Jesus lost as a child, a piece of the lance used to pierce his side on the cross, part of the Shroud and relics from thirty martyrs.⁵ The relics did not have the desired effect, as they were captured in battle by a French knight, Peter of Bracieux.

One of the main eyewitness accounts of the conquest and sacking of Constantinople in 1204 has come down to us in the form of the account by a French knight, Robert de Clari, preserved in one sole manuscript in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. De Clari mentions

³ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford 1988, translated from German original Stuttgart 1965), 203.

⁴ Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London 2004), 52–53.

⁵ Cf. Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden 2000), 302.

the relics found in just one church (the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos); two large pieces of the true cross, the iron of the lance that pierced Christ's side on the cross, a crystal phial with his blood, the tunic he wore on the way to Calvary, two of the nails from the crucifixion, the crown of thorns, part of the robe of Our Lady and the skull of John the Baptist. Innocent III was satisfied by the conquest of the city although outraged at the sacking of so many Christian treasures.

During the sack of the queen of cities, the high altar of Hagia Sophia was broken into pieces so that many different people could take their own souvenir back home. The four horses that can still be seen in Venice were at least retained in one piece. Eyewitness accounts reveal that bishop Nivelon of Soissons' personal hoard included the head of the first martyr, Stephen, a thorn from the crown of thorns, a finger of the doubting apostle Thomas, which had been placed in the Lord's side, a belt of the Virgin Mary and the head of John the Baptist (one of the many). Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt took many pieces of the true cross and the head of James, the brother of Jesus.

No mention is made of the Image of Edessa in any of the lists of relics and treasures taken back to Europe. It seems to have quite simply vanished. And yet the amount of plunder that found its way into the churches of France and the rest of Europe was enormous, much greater than has ever been recorded. In the words of Jonathan Phillips,⁶

So much more material must have gone back to northern Europe than has been recorded. Some items the Greeks managed to take with them. Robert of Clari wrote that the Church of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos in the Bucoleon palace contained the grave cloth in which Christ was wrapped and which clearly displayed his features.⁷ The crusaders could have seen this precious relic during their visits to the city in the latter half of 1203, but as an object that was easily transportable it must have been spirited away the following April because, as Robert lamented, no one knew what had become of it.

De Clari does not mention the Image of Edessa by name at any point in his work, although in the section in which he recounts the marvels of Constantinople, he tells the story of a holy man in the city who was repairing a widow's roof, with a cloth wrapped around him. The Lord

⁶ Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London 2004), 263.

⁷ Phillips is mistaken here, as de Clari locates the gravecloth at the church of Blachernae, in a different part of Constantinople.

2 appeared to him and asked for the cloth, enveloped his face in it and gave it back with a miraculous imprint of his face. The holy man hid the cloth under a tile and the image was also imprinted on the tile.

The similarities to the Abgar legend are obvious. Jesus wiping his face with a cloth and an image of his face appearing on the cloth, which was then transferred onto a tile—although the differences are greater. Abgar has become a holy man in Constantinople and repairs roofs; Jesus appears to him and asks for the cloth himself for no apparent reason. Edessa is not even suggested, although Edgar Holmes concludes that this is a variant on the legend of the Image of Edessa.⁸

An obvious question comes to mind. Was de Clari aware of the Image of Edessa, did he make the changes to the legend (and the changes are substantial), or was he told the story as he transmits it (about another relic), thus remaining unaware of the existence of the Image of Edessa? I find it almost impossible to believe that the knight meant his readers to think of the Image of Edessa from the story he tells. He makes no mention of Abgar or Edessa, does not link the story to the time of Christ's life, and knows nothing about Ananias and the journey to Jerusalem. We can only conclude that he knew nothing of the Image of Edessa as such, although Averil Cameron states that it was listed as present in the Pharos chapel by Robert de Clari.⁹

Among the other wonders in the city that de Clari describes is the *sydoine* in which our Lord had been wrapped, which stood up straight every Friday so that the features of our Lord could be plainly seen there.¹⁰ De Clari is clearly referring to the burial shroud of Christ in this passage (with an image on it). The knight states that nobody knew what happened to this cloth after the city was taken—which is exactly what happened with the Mandylion, the Image of Edessa that was not made by human hands.

Runciman¹¹ states that the Image of Edessa did not disappear in the immediate aftermath of the sack of the city. He claims that the relic

⁸ Edgar Holmes, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (Columbia University 1936, reprinted by Medieval Academy of America 1996), 104.

⁹ Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), 92.

¹⁰ Edgar Holmes, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (Columbia University 1936, reprinted by Medieval Academy of America 1996), 112. This is the gravecloth that Phillips mistakenly has de Clari locate in the Bucoleon instead of at Blachernae.

¹¹ Steven Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931), 251.

came into the possession of Louis IX of France when the emperor transferred all the remaining relics (those he had not already sold) to the king. Included in the list was a certain *sanctam toellam tabulae infertam*.

Was this *sancta toella* the Image of Edessa, the Mandyllion? The description is certainly not the most obvious one; there were so many more de nite ways of identifying the cloth that such a non-descript name must at least make one doubt that this was in fact the Image brought from Edessa in 944. Runciman then says the Image was taken to Paris and its subsequent history is unknown until 1792, when it was destroyed by revolutionaries. Cameron basically agrees with this theory, adding that if the Image was not taken to France, it remained hidden. Grabar¹² states categorically that *Car c est en 1204 que le Mandyllion d Abgar fue enlev de Constantinople et transport en Occident*, going on to say that the original was taken to Paris and everyone who states otherwise was mistaken. According to the same article, the Image's later history is unknown.

The Paris theory is also adopted by Paul Hetherington,¹³ and Paris or Rome by Gerhard Wolf.¹⁴ The Paris theory is based on two assumptions that are by no means certain. The first is that Robert de Clari mentions the Image (as a *touaile*, together with the tile), and the second that *sanctam toellam, tabulae insertam*¹⁵ in the list of relics in the possession of Louis King of France also refers to the Image. It would be strange for a new term to have been introduced to name an object that was so well identified as either the Mandyllion or the *acheiropoietos* image of Edessa.

Despite these affirmations, it seems unlikely that the *sancta toella* obtained by Louis IX was the Mandyllion (it would surely have been described in clearer terms). That said, if the Image of Edessa did survive the sack of Constantinople in 1204, it was presumably brought to Western Europe. One of the few claimants for the survival of the Image of Edessa down to our own days is the Mandyllion of Genoa, in Italy. The claim has been made on various occasions, leading to the publication of various books on the subject.

¹² Andr Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 17.

¹³ Paul Hetherington, 'The image of Edessa: some notes on its later fortunes', *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization, in honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge 2006), 192–205.

¹⁴ From Mandyllion to Veronica, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 166.

¹⁵ S.J. Morand, *Histoire de la Sainte-Chapelle Royale du Palais* (Paris 1790), 7–8.

According to this theory, the Mandylyon was kept in Constantinople for 418 years, i.e. from 944 to 1362, when it was taken to Genoa. In other words, not only did the Image survive the sack of the capital in 1204, but remained in the city for a further century and a half.

The Genoa Mandylyon is kept in a golden frame and only brought out once a year, at Pentecost. The frame is a work of art in its own right. Bearing an inscription with the words ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ, there is no doubt as to what is believed to be inside. There are ten miniatures depicted on the frame, telling the story of the Mandylyon, each with its corresponding inscription. The ten inscriptions are as follows:

1. ὁ Αὐγαρος πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν Ἀνανιαν ἀποστελλων
2. ὁ Ἀνανίας τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ δυνάμενος ἱστορῆσαι
3. νιπτόμενος ὁ Χριστός
4. ὁ Χριστός τὸ μανδηλιον και τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ διδούς
5. ὁ Ἀνανίας τὸ μανδηλιον και τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αὐγαρῷ διακομίζων
6. ὁ Αὐγαρος τὸ εἶδωλον καταλυσας, τὴν εἰκονα ἴστησι τοῦ Χριστοῦ
7. ὁ ἐπισκοπος ἀποκαλυπει δια τοῦ κεραμιδίου τὸ μανδηλιον ἐντειγίζει
8. ἀποκαλυπει τὸ μανδήλιον διακαλυπτει τοῦ κεραμιδίου ἐχοντος τὴν εἰκονα
9. ὁ ἐπισκοπος τὸ ελαιον τῷ πυρὶ ἐπιχεων τοὺς Περσας κατεκαυσε
10. τοῦ μανδηλίου διακομ(ιζομένου εἰς) τ(ὴν) Κωνσταντινουπολιν Ἐ ἰάθη

The face of Christ preserved on what is claimed to be the original Mandylyon is in fact a painting. X-rays were taken in 1974 to see if there was anything underneath the painting, and even what is there is a man-made image. If the Mandylyon of Genoa is the original Image of Edessa, then it was always a simple painting and never an ἀχειροποίητος. It is much more likely that what is kept in Genoa today is an early copy of the Image.

The same could also be stated for another claimant to being the original Image of Edessa, namely the cloth kept today in the pope's private Matilda Chapel in the Vatican. This too is clearly a painting, similar in many ways to the Genoa icon, possibly even denoting a common origin. At a recent exhibition of Vatican treasures, the icon was presented as the original Image of Edessa not made by human hands,¹⁶ but as with the Genoa image, this would be a self-contradiction.

And so just as with the origins of the Image, we are left with a frustrating lack of clear proof. There is no reason to believe that the

¹⁶ Cf. *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (26 January 2006). One of the priceless objects revealed Ἐ was the Mandylyon of Edessa, which Catholic tradition holds to be the oldest known representation of Christ .

Image of Edessa came to Paris as the *sancta toella* or that it is kept in Genoa to this day. It simply vanished from all known accounts. Logic dictates that if it did survive, it came west with the returning Crusaders as part of the plentiful booty they brought back with them, but no more can be historically asserted.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMAGE OF EDESSA IN ART

There are no known surviving copies of the Image made while it was in Edessa. Grabar¹ attributes this to the fact that the Semitic population of the area did not share the Greeks' enthusiasm for painted art, focusing their devotion rather on the letter from Christ to Abgar. The Greeks paid scant attention to the letter and much more to the Image.

One of the earliest surviving copies of the Image of Edessa in art can be found at Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai. The icon is divided into four – on the upper left is Thaddaeus, dressed in a white robe, opposite Abgar, dressed in a dark blue tunic. Both are identified by inscriptions. Abgar is holding the Image of Christ, a small piece of cloth with a small head imprinted on it. The cloth has just been handed over by a figure on the king's right (the viewer's left), most probably to be identified with Ananias. The four figures depicted under Thaddaeus and Abgar are Paul of Thebes, Antonios, Ephraim the Syrian and Basil.

According to Kurt Weitzmann,² the icon is made up of the two wings of a triptych, joined together when the central portion was lost. This portion must have depicted the actual Image of Edessa, at least on the top half of the lost section. The lower section would probably have shown more standing figures like the surviving ones under Thaddaeus and Abgar. The cloth Abgar is holding in the surviving portion is most probably a miniature of the larger version. The face on the miniature is somewhat rounder than later depictions of the face of Christ on the Mandylion.

Weitzmann dates the Sinai icon to the middle of the tenth century,³ and then suggests that the portrait of Abgar is in fact modelled on the

¹ Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 23.

² Kurt Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11 (1960), 167.

³ But cf. Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 22, 'l'histoire de l'art chrétien ignore le Mandylion avant le XI^e ou le XII^e siècle'.

emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The purpose is clear – to represent Constantine in the guise of King Abgarus as the new recipient of the Mandyllion.⁴

One of the best-known Mandyllion copies in Western Europe is in the cathedral of Laon (north of Rheims), painted onto two pieces of pinewood. The icon measures 44×40 cm. It was sent to Laon from Rome in 1249, and according to Grabar⁵ could date from any time between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.

The great respect for the Abgar story and the Image of Edessa in Georgia has already been seen (incorporating the letters into the New Testament with the gospels). In 1989 the remains of a painting of the Holy Face of God were identified in the church of the Holy Cross at Telovani, and dated to the late eighth or early ninth century while the Image was still in Edessa.⁶ From the eleventh century onwards, the Mandyllion is present in the majority of Georgian churches. Both Mandyllion and Keramion (the tile that the Image was transferred onto, according to most versions of the story) are portrayed in Vatican Biblioteca Apostolica Cod. Ross. Gr. 251f. 12^v. The cloth is on the left (with tassels) and the tile on the right, cleverly painted as if the manuscript folio had been folded over to produce the mirror image of the face of Christ. The miniature bears the title *πλάκες πνευματικαί*.

One of the best-known miniatures of the Image of Edessa is to be found in the thirteenth-century Codex Skylitzes (f. 131), held in the National Library in Madrid. There is no doubt as to the identification of the Image as the miniature is clearly headed by the words τὸ ἄγιον μανδύλιον. The emperor is receiving the Image and holding it to his face, presumably to kiss it. The face of Christ is partially obscured by the emperor's own face. There seem to be two cloths involved – a smaller white cloth with tassels clearly visible at the top, the cloth that actually shows the imprint of Christ's face, and another reddish-pink larger cloth that is held in folds by the messenger under the smaller white cloth and thrown back over his shoulder. It is not clear if this larger cloth is meant to be part of the smaller one, if it was used as a kind of protective outer cloth for it, or if it has nothing at all to do with

⁴ Kurt Weitzmann, 'The Mandyllion and Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11 (1960), 183–184.

⁵ André Grabar, 'La Sainte Face de Laon', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 19.

⁶ Cf. *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 72 ff.

it. Grabar⁷ concludes that the author of the miniature had no intention of reproducing the actual physical aspect of the Image but only the historical scene, in which case the manuscript shows us nothing useful in trying to find out what the Mandyllion actually looked like.

The Image of Edessa is also portrayed in the miniatures of a Menologion manuscript in Moscow (Cod. Syn. Gr. 183), copied in 1063 and taken to Russia from the Athonite monastery of Stavronikita. On f. 192 v. there are four scenes from the Abgar legend: Abgar sending the letter to Christ via Ananias, Christ receiving Ananias and writing back to Abgar, Christ giving the cloth with his face imprinted on it to Ananias and finally, Ananias showing the cloth to Abgar.

Each miniature has its corresponding explanation, as follows:

1. Αὐγαρος τὸ τοπάρχης ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ ἔλθειν καὶ θεραπεῦειν αὐτὸν
2. ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ γραμμάτων προσαγορεῦη τὸν Αὐγαρον
3. ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιδοὺς τὴν σινδὼνα ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Αὐγαρον
4. ὁ Αὐγαρος ἰδὼν τὴν σινδὼνα εὐθέως ἰάθη καὶ ἀνάστειλε βαπτισθεὶς δοξάζων τὸν θεόν

Grabar⁸ draws a clear difference between two main styles of painted Mandyllion – the representations showing a hanging cloth date from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, whereas before this date the cloth was painted simply stretched out on a surface. In the same article Grabar claims that the hanging Mandyllion is a western development.⁹

There are a few representations of the Mandyllion among the frescoes of the more than 350 chapels and churches in the valleys of Cappadocia,¹⁰ although according to Grabar,¹¹ l'absence du Mandyllion dans le repertoire des decorateurs des chapelles rupestres semble significative. Grabar mentions only one copy in all Cappadocia, although more have come to light since he wrote in the 1930s. The church of Sakli, in the Gremere region of Cappadocia, is known as

⁷ Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 24.

⁸ Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 16ff.

⁹ Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 17.

¹⁰ The photographs of all the Mandyllion images in Cappadocia were kindly supplied by Lennox Manton, who visited the area various times in the 1980s. Cf. Nicole & Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles Églises Rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris 1963); H. Yenipinar, *Paintings of the Dark Church* (Istanbul 1998); Spiro Kostof, *Caves of God, Cappadocia and its churches* (Oxford 1972); M.S. Ipsiroglu and S. Eyuboglu, *Sakli Kilise* (Istanbul 1958); Lennox Manton, *The Cappadocian Frescoes and the Turin Shroud* (Manly 1996).

¹¹ Andr. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 23.

the hidden church, because it was only discovered in 1956. There are two painted Images in this church. The better conserved of the two is painted over the top of an arch, with the Virgin on the left in the middle of a tower and another building (possibly a church), and Saint Isaac on the right.

The Sakli Mandylion is somewhat different from most others in that the halo is plain, void of the decorations and inscriptions that filled later paintings. Original markings are evident – roundels on either side of Christ's face. The red colour is typical of both the Mandylion and other decorations in the church; it comes from the red clay of the Kizil Irmak (Red River), which is still used in the local town of Avanos. The red roundels are much more visible than the white ones, which have almost faded away. There seems to be no particular meaning in the dispensation of the roundels – they are also evident on the frescoes from the same church, and can also be seen on other paintings of the Mandylion in Cappadocia (Göreme Chapel 21 and the Dark Church at Karanlık) in a different design.

A second Mandylion at the church of Sakli was painted over a small archway in the part known as the Piscina. It has suffered from damp and not much is visible; the face is gone, although the red hair denotes that the artist was the same as the one who painted the Mandylion in the main church building. Four white roundels are just about visible, two on each side of the face.

A manuscript held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice¹² shows a miniature of the Mandylion that is very similar to the Sakli Mandylion. To a certain extent all copies are similar, but the design of the cloth and the face in this case would seem to denote more than the usual degree of likeness.

The Mandylion in Göreme Chapel 21 is not as well preserved as the Sakli example. Roundels are also present, but in a seemingly haphazard design – there are four of them, three underneath the face of Christ (although not in a straight line), and one on the upper left. At Sakli, the roundels are in the edges of the cloth, whereas in Chapel 21 they are directly around the halo. The halo in Chapel 21 is more elaborate than in Sakli, containing three groups of five smaller circles each – in Sakli the halo is quite plain. Just visible above the halo in Sakli are the letters IC XC.

¹² Cod. Marc. Gr. Z 402 (saec. XIII).

There is a damaged eleventh-century copy of the Mandyliion at the church of Karanlik, also known as the Dark Church due to a lack of windows. It can be found in the northern apse, one of the few copies that is not painted over an archway. The inscription is faulty TO ATHON MANAHN although the identification is clear. Christ's face is not surrounded by a halo, although the upper, right and left arms of the cross can be seen behind his head. The design with the red and white roundels is much more balanced than in Sakli and Chapel 21 there are three red roundels, one on each side of the face and one underneath the neck, while the white ones (clearly visible) are interspersed. The hair is behind the neck rather than falling over the shoulders. The cloth is portrayed as very wide, but unfortunately nothing is left of the facial features and the design of the cloth at its edges has also suffered from the ravages of time.

The Image of Edessa would appear to be ubiquitous in the various different monasteries on Mount Athos.¹³ One of the most spectacular paintings can be found over the archway at the entrance to the monastery of Docheiariou a huge Mandyliion greets all those who come in. The face of Christ is bearded, while the long hair is split into two on each side of the face. The golden halo bears the letters $\omicron \ \omega \nu$, and there is a great extension of cloth on each side of the face, filled with various groups of three black dots arranged in the form of a triangle.

The seventeenth-century Mandyliion in the church at the monastery of Dionysiou has several features in common with the Docheiariou one; the same golden halo with the same inscription $\omicron \ \omega \nu$ (although at Docheiariou the article is on the left of the face, and at Dionysiou it is above), the same extended cloth on either side of the face and the same black dots (although at Dionysiou there are other designs in addition). The Dionysiou Mandyliion identifies the subject with the traditional abbreviation IC XC, absent at Docheiariou. Christ's hair is divided into two on the left but there is only one lock on the right.

There is a small and deteriorated Mandyliion in the monastery of Megistes Lavras, painted onto the wall in the courtyard and protected

¹³ The photographs and many of the observations in this section are from my own visits to Mount Athos. Cf. Various authors, *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Holy Community of Mount Athos 1997); M. Chatzidakis, *The Cretan Painter Theophanes: The Final Period of his Art in the Frescoes in Stavronikita Monastery* (Mount Athos 1986); P. Mylonas, 'The Protaton at Karyes and the Painter Manuel Panselinos', *Nea Estia* 1089 (1972), 1657–1662.

from the elements by a glass cover. The hair is split into two on both sides of the face, and just visible inside the light blue halo are the letters IC XC.

Probably the oldest (twelfth or thirteenth century) and most damaged Mandylion on Athos is in the church at the Protaton, in Karyes, the administrative capital of Mount Athos. Christ's face (with a halo) is on a grey cloth with horizontal red stripes and golden tassels at the bottom. The cloth is held up by two angels, although little more than the arms and legs of the one on the left now remain. The inscription too is damaged – all that can now be read is $\nu \mu\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota$.

The beautiful Mandylion at the monastery of Stavroniketa was painted by Theophanes the Cretan in 1546. It shows an almost thoughtful Christ on an intricately designed cloth (damaged to the lower right of the face). The cloth shown is also much wider than those in the Protaton and Megistes Lavras.

A different model is evident in two later versions in Koutloumousiou and hanging in a frame in the church at the Protaton. Similarities in the design of the cloth and in certain facial features suggest that the two were painted by the same artist. Christ's hair (divided into two locks on either side of the face) is much longer than in other paintings, and his lips are painted very red, seeming almost to be pouting. These two features are also evident on some souvenir icons of the Mandylion for sale in the town of Ouranoupolis, from where the boats leave for Athos.

A spectacular version of the Mandylion can be seen in the recently painted refectory at the monastery of Koutloumousiou. The whole room was painted during the 1990s, and the far end (from the main door) is presided over by a truly impressive Mandylion. A stern looking Christ is portrayed with his hair brushed behind his shoulders (on all other copies it is hanging over the front). Three crimson strips take the place of the letters $\delta \omega\nu$ evident on other paintings, while the cloth itself is white with blue stripes. The cloth is tied into knots at the upper corners and suspended on golden hooks, while Christ's garment is artistically blended into the cloth itself.

Athos monasteries also hold smaller painted icons on wood, such as the three at Iveron measuring 14.5×11.5 , 24.5×20.5 and 31.5×23 cm respectively. One of the three was painted in 1782, while another bears a more complete inscription than most others – $\tau\omicron \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu \mu\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \eta\mu\omega\nu \text{ } \text{I}\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

Other well-known copies of the Mandylion are in the church of the Archangel Michael in Kato Lefkara in Cyprus, a twelfth-century

painting with somewhat dubious orthography (τω αγον μανδύλιων), the now lost twelfth-century Russian Mandylion that was at Spas Neredita, denoting an especially wide-eyed Jesus surrounded by an elaborate lattice-type decoration, and those at the monastery of Spaso-Mirozskij (dating from 1156), the church called Dzurdzevi Stupovi in Serbia (12th century), and the thirteenth-century icons from Zica (Serbia), Bojana and Gospodev Dol (Bulgaria).

The general appearance of Jesus' face on Mandylion copies is well described by Robin Margaret Jensen: Christ's eyes look straight out, under well-defined brows and high forehead. His nose is long and narrow, with a small mouth beneath a rather drooping moustache and above a beard that comes to two points. The hair of his head is parted at the centre and hangs to his shoulders.¹⁴

Another feature that links many known copies is the exceedingly wide cloth that the face is painted on. There is ample empty linen on either side of the face, sometimes tied up in knots to hold the cloth up. A lattice-like design can be seen on the cloth on some copies, whereas on others the artist has filled it in with his own designs. There are two possible reasons for the seemingly excessive width of the cloth: many copies are painted above an archway and so the cloth was quite naturally extended to cover the whole arch,¹⁵ or the original cloth was much wider than the space strictly necessary for the face. According to Grabar, the fact that the Mandylion was painted in one of the higher places of the church denotes that it had the value of a dogmatic symbol.¹⁶

In Western Europe the Mandylion was more often reproduced as the Veronica, related not to the Abgar legend but to Veronica, who is purported to have wiped Christ's face with a cloth while he was on his way to Calvary, at which point his face was miraculously imprinted onto the cloth.¹⁷ The earlier Holy Faces in the west, such as the ones in

¹⁴ Robin Margaret Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis 2005), 135–136.

¹⁵ Locating the Image above an arch could also be related to the fact that according to the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* it was rediscovered above the city gate, possibly in the form of an arch.

¹⁶ André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1935), 26.

¹⁷ Cf. Gerhard Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica', *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998) 157; 'The iconic formula of the Veronica copies is a transformation or adaptation of the Holy Face as it was represented in the Eastern Church, that is of the MandylionÉ'.

Genova, Rome and Corbie,¹⁸ are copies of the Mandylyon made in the east, whereas the countless paintings and Holy Faces in Italy and Spain are quite definitely western Veronicas.

In fact, the cult of the Veronica image came to the fore towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Image of Edessa had presumably made its way westwards shortly after 1204, and no doubt had some influence in making representations of the Holy Face more popular.

The version of the Image's origins contained in Gregory Referendarius' sermon linked the cloth to the passion narrative and this aspect was imported into the west, although Gethsemane was replaced by a female called Veronica, none other than the Hemorrhissa whose blood flow had been cured by simply touching Jesus' robe. The crown of thorns was first incorporated into the Veronica legend in around 1400, showing that the Veronica icon was understood to have been imprinted onto the cloth on the way to Calvary.

¹⁸ For the Corbie face (lost since 1970) see Jannic Durand, 'Une prétendue relique de Constantinople: la Vronique de Corbie', *The Material and the Ideal* (Leiden 2007), 205–218.

CHAPTER SIX

WHAT WAS THE IMAGE OF EDESSA?

If the story of Abgar sending a messenger to Christ in Jerusalem, and the latter's wiping his face on a cloth, is no more than legend, then in a certain sense the Image of Edessa never existed. And yet the situation is more complex, as there most certainly was an Image of Edessa taken from this city to the capital of the empire in the tenth century, where it remained until the beginning of the thirteenth century. A legendary origin does not mean that the object never existed, and whatever the origins of this image were, an object known as the Image of Edessa did exist. The aim of this chapter is to look at the words used to define this object, and to analyse the different descriptions of the cloth to see whether it is possible to form an idea of what the Image of Edessa was and what it looked like.

The document known as the Liturgical Tract states that the Image was deliberately kept at a distance from the common people, in order to increase their sense of mystery about it and their sense of religious awe. Von Dobschütz dates this text to shortly after the Image's arrival in Constantinople, stating that it was based on an earlier Syriac original, which means that the rites described therein would refer to what was known from and how the Image was seen and used in the city of Edessa. Whether this is so or not, there seems not to have been any direct public access to the cloth, contributing to the scarce and scant descriptions of its appearance. The task undertaken in this chapter is far from easy.

The Image of Edessa is constantly referred to in the texts as an εἰκὼν, a word which I have not translated by the obvious *icon*, preferring *image*. The reason for this is that the word *icon* suggests to many a painted image, and despite the fact that by reading the texts it becomes clear that the Image of Edessa is not described as a painted image (except in the Doctrine of Addai), I thought it better to avoid any possible misunderstanding.

The Septuagint uses this word in the creation account κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν where it must mean similarity, neither a painted image nor the exact essence of something or somebody else. New Tes-

tament usage of the word has two different connotations—a representation of the emperor on a coin (Mark 12:16), but also—the very essence of a thing made visible in its image,¹ as in 2 Cor 4:4, Ἐ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. The use of the word εἰκὼν in reference to the Image of Edessa is to be taken in this second sense.

Averil Cameron concludes that the Image of Edessa—never actually looked like a cloth at all.² This is a somewhat daring conclusion, which seems to contradict just all about all known sources, in which the fact that the Image was imprinted (by whatever means) onto a linen cloth is clearly stated. I see no reason to doubt that the Image was on a linen cloth, whatever else it was or was not.³

There are many different words and descriptions used in relation to the Image of Edessa, and to my mind one of the most significant is precisely the one that all modern historians seem to shy away from. I refer of course to the Greek word τετράδιπλον, used only for the Image of Edessa in the whole known corpus of Greek literature. This in itself is highly significant—if a word is brought into being for the sole purpose of describing a specific object, and never used for any other known object, then it must surely reflect a unique property of the object in question, something that differentiates it from other similar objects (in this particular case, from other likenesses of Christ). Scholars who have written about the Image in the twentieth century have by and large ignored this word and its significance;⁴ possibly because its implications seem to contradict what they take for granted about the Image.

At first sight, the word seems easy to understand—it is made up of two elements, the words for—four—and—fold over in two—. However, does this mean folded over in two four times (resulting in sixteen layers),

¹ Paul Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople—Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1958), 39.

² Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), 88.

³ Cameron's apparent desire is to establish that the Image of Edessa is not the Shroud of Turin, leading her to deny any similarities (the Shroud of Turin is made of linen) even when all the sources are against her. Rather than look at what the Image was, she spends most of her time arguing what it was not.

⁴ Cf. inter alia Steven Runciman, 'Some Remarks on the History of the Image of Edessa', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931), 238–252; Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), Chapter XI. An excellent article on the meaning of the word is the unpublished 'On the meaning of tetradipylon' by Professor Daniel Scavone of the University of Southern Indiana, to whom I am grateful for letting me see his text.

or folded in four so that there were four layers, or in eight layers (i.e. four double layers)? The fact that the word is only used for the Image of Edessa means that there is nothing it can be compared to, and the fact that we do not know exactly what the Image of Edessa looked like means that it is not a straightforward task to understand the meaning of τετράδιπλον.

διπλοῦς means folded in two. There are no other numerical terms like τετράδιπλον with a numerical pre x, i.e. no τριδιπλον, πεντάδιπλον or ἑξάδιπλον. There are, however, similar words formed from numerical roots and πλάσιος. διπλάσιος means double or twice as much, ἑξαπλάσιος means six times as large etc. Could τετράδιπλον mean four times as large (i.e. the opposite of folding something up, which effectively makes it smaller)? This seems unlikely, as there is no point of comparison in any of the texts (four times as large as what?) and if this was what the author wished to express, he would surely have employed the word τετραπλάσιος.

If διπλοῦς means folded in two, producing two layers, then τετράδιπλον could either mean folded over in two four times (producing sixteen layers), or folded over in such a way as to produce eight layers, i.e. four double layers, which actually involves only three folding actions. This said, there is a way to fold a large cloth that does involve four folding actions and results in four double layers – the cloth would be folded in half, and then folded a further three times by quarters.

τετράδιπλον is a word used specially for the Image of Edessa, and for no other object. It must therefore be significant in establishing an idea about the actual appearance of the cloth (if the Image was folded over any number of times it cannot have been imprinted onto wood). No matter what exact number of folds is involved in making a cloth τετράδιπλον, it is clear that the use of this word means that the cloth was reasonably large, larger at least than the amount of cloth needed for a facial image, a point already suggested by John Damascene's use of ὑμάτιον to describe it. This point has been ignored in most recent works on the Image of Edessa, and yet seems to be absolutely fundamental in understanding its nature.

Another word that is usually (though not exclusively) linked to the Image of Edessa is ἀχειροποίητος, not made by human hands. The word does not appear at all in the LXX, possibly as there was no word in Hebrew to be so translated. The positive form χειροποίητος does appear, usually in the context of ridiculing statues of false gods, e.g. Is 2:18, καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα πάντα κατακρύψουσιν. In secular Greek

the word was used as the opposite of αὐτοφυής, something that occurs in nature. In the New Testament, the letter to the Hebrews uses a compound negative form with an explanation: καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς οὐ χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως.

The form ἀχειροποίητος seems to be a specially Christian coinage, first used in the New Testament.⁵ The gospel of Mark (14:58) distinguishes between the temple that was built by humans and the temple that Christ will erect in its place: ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω. The word is also used in 2Cor 5:1 to describe the dwelling place God has prepared for believers in heaven, and in Col 2:11 referring to a spiritual circumcision, as opposed to the physical ritual circumcision in Judaism.

The adjective ἀχειροποίητος could not have been loosely applied to an icon that was obviously painted, although the earliest description of the Image's origins, in the Doctrine of Addai (dated to around AD 400), states quite clearly that Hanan, the king's archivist and artist, painted the portrait of Jesus with choice pigments.⁶ There is no hint whatsoever of a miraculous origin for the Image in this version.

No matter what the reason for this statement is (had the author seen the Image? If so, and if he saw that it was a painting, why did all later versions change the whole story?), it is very clear that all later versions are in total and complete disagreement with this. They are all adamant that it was most definitely not a painting, but rather an ἀχειροποίητος, an image not made by human hands.

Some of the copies of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* on Mount Athos, however, seem to have been in doubt about this fact. When Abgar expresses his new-found belief in reference to the Image on the cloth, the text states that ἐπεγίνωσκεν οὐ διὰ χρωμάτων ὑλικῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχουσιν, although in the first-hand texts of Megistes Lavras 429 and Iveron 595 the negative is a later addition (μὴ in ML1 and οὐ in Iv). Megistes Lavras 644 omits the negative altogether, as does von Dobschütz,⁷ thus expressing the idea that Abgar realises the Image is in fact a painting. In the light of the rest of the same text in the same manuscript, this can only be seen as a mistake by the copyist, corrected elsewhere to preserve the general sense. No matter what the Image of

⁵ Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah Vol. 1* (New York 1994), 439ff.

⁶ Translation by George Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (Atlanta 1981), 9.

⁷ Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder Beilage II* (Leipzig 1899), 57.

Edessa was, the author of this particular text wanted to express the fact that it was *not* a painting, and so the text adopted at this point should reflect this.

Michael Whitby offers an interesting possibility for the roots of this word being applied to the Image of Edessa;⁸ Procopius describes the Persian mound that the defenders in Edessa successfully set fire to as a λόφος χειροποίητος, and given that it was destroyed with divine aid through the Image, this came to be known as ἀχειροποίητος.

Hans Belting finds the word unnecessarily complicated, stating that

an image not made by human hands is a contradiction in itself, since such an image is at the same time not only no image, but the very contrary of an image.⁹

He tries to show that the word ἀχειροποίητος actually means that the image in question is not an image at all, but an actual body. Such thought is without doubt far from the intentions of the writers who described the Image of Edessa as not made by human hands – all they meant is that the Image is not a painting but an image miraculously produced by divine power in Jesus.

Andrew of Crete (c. 660–740) makes it clear that the image was not a painting:¹⁰

Πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Αὐτάρῳ τῷ τοπάρχῳ πεμφθεῖσαν ἐν ῥάκει σεβασμίαν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκμαγεῖον οὖσαν τοῦ σωματικοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρος καὶ μηδὲν ἀποδέουσας τῆς ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων γραφῆς Ἑ

First of all, the sacred image of our Lord Jesus Christ that was sent to Abgar the ruler, which is an imprint of his bodily form and owes nothing at all to work with paint Ἑ

The word Mandyllion came into use when the Image was taken to Constantinople. Various different theories as to the word's origin have been forthcoming, many of which involve the Arabic *mandil*. It would seem though to border on the impossible that there is no influence from Greek μαντίλιον and μανδύλιον, Latin mantilium, Aramaic mantila and the late Greek μανδύλη. All these words usually (but not always) refer to a relatively large cloth, such as a monk's mantle or a kind of tablecloth.

⁸ Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000), 227.

⁹ *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna 1998), 5.

¹⁰ *S. Andreae Cretensis de SS. Imaginum Veneratione*, cf. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XC VII 893–904.

Yet another word frequently found to describe the image on the cloth is μορφή. This word can be found in the oft-discussed passage in Philippians 2:6–7 ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν but doubt remains as to whether the text means that Jesus was equal to God, or if it means he was like Adam, made in the image (εἰκὼν) of God, and therefore less than God.

Other words used for the Image of Edessa are ῥάκος, ἐκμαγεῖον, σουδάριον (John Damascene, the Letter of the Three Patriarchs), πέπλον (Leo the Deacon) and ἐκτύπωμα, none of which shed any new light on what the Image of Edessa was.

A full-body image

Ordericus Vitalis in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*¹¹ gives a somewhat confusing reference to the image sent by Christ to Abgar:

Abgarus toparcha Edessae regnavit; cui dominus Iesus sacram epistolam destinavit, et pretiosum lintheum, quo faciei suae sudorem extersit, et in quo eiusdem Salvatoris imago mirabiliter depicta refulget; quae Dominici corporis speciem et quantitatem intuentibus exhibet.

Abgar the ruler reigned at Edessa; the Lord Jesus sent him a sacred letter and a beautiful linen cloth he had wiped the sweat from his face with. The image of the Saviour was miraculously imprinted onto it and shines out, displaying the form and size of the Lord's body to all who look on it.

The first impression is that as Jesus only dried his face on the cloth, then the Image is only a facial image, but then we are told that those looking at the cloth could see an image of the Lord's body. This is of course a contradiction, but as with so many writers, contradicting themselves, sometimes in the same sentence, seems not to have been as much a problem as it is for us today.

No such ambiguity is evident in the pilgrim Gervase of Tilbury's account,¹² whose version of the letter sent by Jesus to Abgar, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, reads as follows:

¹¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica* IX:13. Critical edition by Marjorie Chibnall in 6 volumes (Oxford 1969–1980).

¹² *Otia Imperialia* III:23. Critical edition by S.E. Banks & J.W. Binns (Oxford 2002).

Sed quia me corporaliter videre desideras, en tibi dirigo linteum, in quo faciei mee gura et tocius corporis mei status continentur.

As you wished to see what I look like, I am sending you a linen cloth on which the form of my face and my whole body can be seen.

As to how a full-body image could be seen on the cloth, Gervase also gives an explanation:

Traditur autem ex archivis auctoritatis antique, quod dominus super linteum candidissimum toto corpore se prostraverit et ita virtute divina non tantum faciei sed etiam tocius corporis dominici speciosissima effigies linteo impressa sit.

There is a story in trustworthy documents that in the past the Lord laid his whole body down on a clean linen cloth and the beautiful form, not only of his face but of his whole body, was imprinted onto the linen.

The reference to Jesus laying his whole body down on a clean linen cloth is much more reminiscent of the burial shroud than of the Abgar legend.

Codex Vossianus Latinus Q69 (tenth or eleventh century) contains a text used by von Dobschütz, although it is not mentioned in *Christusbilder*.¹³ The two manuscripts used by von Dobschütz are more recent (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). At the end of Christ's reply to Abgar, the following can be read:

Si vero corporaliter faciem meam cernere desideras hunc tibi dirigo linteum, in quo non solum faciei mee guram, sed totius corporis mei cernere poteris statum divinitus transformatum. Quem cum intuitus fueris ardorem tui animi refrigerare poteris. In patris mei sapientia, bene valeas per cuncta secula.

If you really want to see what my face looks like, I am sending you this linen cloth, on which you will be able to see not only the form of my face but the divinely transformed state of my whole body. When you have seen it you will be able to soothe your burning desire. May you fare well for all time in the wisdom of my Father.

The sermon attributed to Gregory Referendarius (for the present purpose it makes little difference who actually composed the text) is sometimes used to support the idea that the Image of Edessa was a full body image.¹⁴ The sermon survives in one known manuscript in the Vatican Archives (Vat. Gr. 511) and was written shortly after the arrival of the

¹³ Cf. Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Beilage III* (Leipzig 1899), 130–140.

¹⁴ Cf. A.M. Dubarle, 'L'Homologie de Grégoire le Référendaire pour la Réception de l'Image d'Édesse', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (Paris 1997), 5–51.

Image in Constantinople. It contains the Abgar legend, but contrary to the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* only one version is given of how the face of Jesus was imprinted on the cloth. This version is not the story of Abgar sending a messenger to Christ, but the second version about the cloth being pressed to Jesus' face in the garden of Gethsemane when he was sweating blood.

Dubarle's translation understands that it was the Image itself that was embellished with blood from Christ's side, although this interpretation cannot be supported either from the Greek text or from the internal logic of the text. If the Image had indeed been embellished with blood from Christ's side, this could only have taken place after his death on the cross, whereas Gregory's text clearly states that the Image was formed before the crucifixion.

Dubarle understands ἀφ' οὗ in the original in a temporal sense, meaning that *after* the cloth received the imprint of Christ, it was embellished by drops from his side. This could only be so in modern Greek, and even then with the word αφού. The structure τὸ ἀφ' οὗ κατεσταλάχθησαν refers back to the body of Christ, not to the Image. The thrust of the text is that the sweat of agony (like drops of blood) adorned the Image, just like blood from its side adorned the body from which the sweat had dripped.

Reference has already been made to the Didaskalia on the Mandy-lion and the Holy Tile, a text written by Constantine Stilbes. Towards the end of this version of the Abgar legend, when Abgar sees both the Image and the tile for the first time, we read the following:¹⁵

τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρᾷ ἀφεθείσας πόρρωθεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, οἶαι καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν στοιχείων τὸ εὐκραεὺς καὶ ἑαρινὴν κατάστασιν σχεδιάζουσι. Θεοπτίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα λογίζεται καὶ ὑπὸ πέτρᾳ τῷ κεράμῳ θεοῦ πρόσωπον καταθρεῖ, εἴποι τις ἐμβαθύνων, ὀπίσθια, τὸ κατὰ γε τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτοις σάρκωσιν μόρφωμα ἢ τὸ μετὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὀπισθεν ἦγον καὶ ὑστεροχρονοῦν ἀπεικόνισμα· αὐτοπρόσωπον νομίζει παρ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ὅλον διὰ τῶν συμβόλων κομίζεσθαι τὸν θεάνθρωπον, ἥπου καὶ τὸ διπλὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ θαυματίζεσθαι φύσεων, διὰ τε τοῦ γήινου κεράμου διὰ τε τοῦ τῆς ὀθόνης λεπτοφύου καὶ διαφανοῦς.

He saw the images being brought towards him from afar, returning the gentle springtime of youth to his body. He thought he was seeing a heavenly vision, as if in the solid tile he was looking down on the face of God, or if you were to go deeper into the matter, God's back, the

¹⁵ Cf. Bernard Flusin, *Didascalie de Constantin Stilb's sur le Mandy-lion et la Sainte Tuile*, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (Paris 1997), 76.

human form he took on in the last times after he became flesh, a form from a later time. He believed it was Jesus himself coming, the whole divine man coming via the symbols, or that he was given to wonder at the two natures through the clay tile and the finely-woven transparent cloth.

The tone of the passage is clearly poetical, and even though Abgar is depicted as imagining Christ in person coming to him through the two images, it is at the same time interesting that once again, a full-body image is brought into the story when talking about the depiction on the cloth.

Were this simply an isolated example, then it could surely be discarded without further ado. This is not the case however. Various texts by different authors writing from different sources describe the Image of Edessa as a full-body representation of Christ. It is true that the same texts (and numerous others) refer to nothing more than a facial image when describing the formation of the portrait (be it before the passion or in Gethsemane), but even so it can confidently be stated that some people at some times believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Image of Edessa contained a full-body imprint of Jesus of Nazareth.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Averil Cameron states the telling of the image was progressively extended and developed as new situations arose.¹ The suggestion is significant, although made in a context of hindsight, i.e. she states that the different properties of the Image, as described in various documents, were invented to fit a given situation, rather than discovered as inherent properties of the actual Image. It is difficult to understand what kind of situation would lead various writers to describe the Image as a full-body representation, except for observing the fact that it was indeed a full-body image.

Alexander Mirkovic links the growth in the legend to reception theory,² under which every new generation of readers interprets and transforms the text so that it becomes a fusion of past and present. In other words, all the additions made to the text, and the subsequent changing of certain details, tells us more about what the readers or hearers of the text believed than what the original writer intended. In the case of a specific item, such as in this case the Image of Edessa, later additions and observations could in fact be more accurate than earlier accounts, especially if the later versions are based on actual eyewitness evidence of the object in question rather than simple hearsay. In such cases, later additions could be viewed as corrections of earlier misunderstandings.

My own conclusions are that very little can be definitively stated about the Image of Edessa's origins. We cannot even be sure when it was first mentioned in historical documents, much less whether this denotes when it came into existence. There was definitely a tradition of the Image having been hidden away and rediscovered centuries later. The link to Christ and his times was by no means essential in order to establish that the Image was not made by human hands, neither to show that Christianity was of ancient standing in Edessa. The letter

¹ Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 1996), 80.

² Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine* (Frankfurt 2004), 14–15.

from Christ and the sending of an apostle or disciple named Thaddaeus or Addai was a much clearer way of stating this. In other words, such a tradition did not have to be invented in order to show that Christianity in Edessa dated from very early times.

On the other hand, such a tradition cannot be taken at face value without further proof. The fact that everybody who has taken on the issue of tracing the Image's origins has reached a different conclusion, none of which is more convincing than any other, leads us inevitably to conclude that we simply do not know with any degree of certitude when and how the Image came into existence.

As to what the Image was, and what it actually looked like, there are many different versions, often contradictory accounts in the same text by the same writer. There is no reason to doubt that the Image of Edessa was imprinted onto a linen cloth. It had to be imprinted onto something, and given that all the sources state that it was linen, we can do no more than accept this.

All known artistic representations of the Image of Edessa show the face of Jesus, obviously in life, with no bloodstains or signs of wounds or pain of any kind. This is in keeping with the traditional version of the legend, according to which Jesus pressed a cloth to his face when Ananias was in his presence, and sent it back to Abgar. This indeed is the most common version of the story about the Image – it was a facial image miraculously produced in life. If we looked only at the Image in art, and the majority of texts that tell the Abgar story, the conclusions would be relatively easy – a facial representation of Christ on linen whose origins we could never hope to discover.

And yet the story is not so simple. At some stage in the story the idea of a cloth being pressed to Jesus' face during his agony in the garden of Gethsemane was introduced into the story. The first written versions of this occur in the tenth century, when the Image was taken from Edessa to Constantinople. In Gregory Referendarius' sermon this version replaces the traditional one involving Ananias and his trip to Jerusalem, although in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* the two versions are given side by side, as if there was a need or desire to record the Gethsemane version, but a reluctance to abandon the traditional one. There is no contradiction here, as the author clearly states that there are two versions, and he does not know which one is the correct one.

The question that needs asking is why was a new version of the origins of the Image introduced into the story? If the cloth was pressed to Jesus' face during his agony in Gethsemane, when he was sweating

blood,³ the answer would seem to be that there was a need to explain blood or bloodstains on the cloth. If this is so, the idea was never incorporated into any painting of the Mandylion, and did not affect the Synaxarion or Menaion texts. It is true that all paintings and the majority of texts simply continued with the traditional story, but it is equally true that some witnesses (in what is after all a fluid text that had been open to additions and modifications since the very beginning) now see a need to explain bloodstains on the cloth.⁴ The addition seems to be part of what Mirkovic described as every new generation of readers interpreting and transforming the text, so that it becomes a fusion of past and present – adding what is discovered about it, but without ever ironing out the resulting contradictions.

Perhaps the Image was inspected more closely than ever before on its arrival in Constantinople, and what had previously been taken as part of the portrait, or simply passed over or ignored, was seen to be blood and required explaining.

There is also a text⁵ that might possibly explain the bloodstains on the cloth, by attributing its origins to the crucifixion. The text in question is a list of relics that King Louis of France managed to purchase in two lots, written by Gerard of Saint Quentin c. 1245. The first of the two lots came from the Knights Templar and included

Tabula quedam quam, cum deponeretur Dominus de cruce, ejus facies tetigit

A panel that touched his face when he was taken down from the cross

This is different from the *sanctam toellam tabulae insertam* in that there is no direct mention of a cloth, just the *tabula*. I have argued above that *tabula* would not immediately suggest the Image of Edessa, and the text in question would not seem to be related at all to the Image of Edessa,

³ The verse in Luke's gospel about sweating blood is absent from the best witnesses, but the tradition was ancient.

⁴ The Image is actually called *sanguinea domini ymago* in a recension of the life of Saint Alexis, Latin Cod. Monac. Aug. S. Ulr. 111, cf. Massmann H.F. *Sanct Alexius Leben* (Leipzig 1843) 160, Linda Cooper, 'The Old French Life of Saint Alexis and the Shroud of Turin', *Modern Philology* 84 (1986), 4.

⁵ The text was edited by E. Miller, *Journal des Savants* (1878), 292–309 and included in F. Mely, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae III. La Croix des premiers croisés, la Sainte Lance, la Sainte Couronne* (Paris 1904), 102–112. See also Holger A. Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 283–314 and J. Durand, 'La Sainte Toile ou Vronique', *Le trésor de la Sainte Chapelle* (Paris 2001), 70.

but the description of the panel that received the imprint of Christ's face after the crucifixion is identified by J. Durand with the Image of Edessa as another tradition about the Image's origins, thus linking the Image to the burial cloths.⁶

The same ideas can be applied to the textual witnesses that describe the Image of Edessa as a full-body image. There are witnesses that clearly state that the Image of Edessa bore a full-body image of Christ, as he stretched out his body on a linen cloth. Once again, this idea had no influence at all on art, and the majority of texts still refer only to a facial image. The full-body image did find its way into the Synaxarion texts, however, as when Abgar sends his messenger to bring back a portrait of Christ, he makes the specific request

τήν τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τρίχα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἀπλῶς τὸν σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ
χαρακτῆρα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἱστορῆσαι

showing in all detail his age, his hair, his face and his whole bodily appearance,

This leads to an internal contradiction as the story of how the image is imprinted onto the cloth is limited to the facial image, although the text does show knowledge of the full-body image.

More open to debate is the poetical Menaion verse:

Κατιδὼν σου, λόγε καὶ σοφία τοῦ παντοδυνάμενου πατρὸς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀορά-
του, ἀναφέστατε πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ὅλον ἀνθρωπόμορφον,
κατεπλήττετο θεὸν γινώσκων σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος καὶ ψυχῆς νοεράς προσε-
πλημένον ὁ τοπάρχης σε.

Looking upon the whole human form of your image, Word and wisdom of the Almighty Father, the unseen God, untouchable before the ages, the ruler was amazed, contemplating you as God who had taken on flesh, blood and soul.

It could be argued from this verse that Abgar realised Jesus had come in flesh and blood on looking at the Image, precisely because he was seeing flesh and blood.

Quite obviously, if the Image of Edessa was a full-body image, the linen cloth it was imprinted upon must have been quite large. This idea is supported by the fact that it is described as both τετράδιπλον and ἱμάτιον, both of which imply this – in fact, the former can *only* mean that the Image of Edessa was a large cloth, and the word is essential to

⁶ J. Durand, *La Sainte Toile ou Vierge unique, Le trésor de la Sainte Chapelle* (Paris 2001), 70.

understanding what the Image was, given that it is used in all known literature only in relation to this particular cloth.

Once again, it should be stressed that there are no artistic representations of the Image of Edessa as a full-body image or with bloodstains, and the majority of texts make no reference to either characteristic; but at the same time it is undeniable that at some point in the history of the Image of Edessa, some writers were convinced, for whatever reason, that it was indeed a full-body image on a large cloth that had been folded over (possibly in such a way that only the face was visible) and that it did contain bloodstains.

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